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## THE NO MAN

- Daniel Johnson's personal battle against separatism
- What Quebecers are being asked to decide



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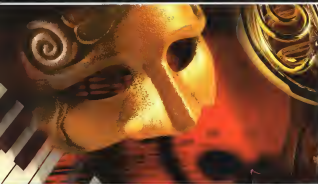
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## Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE  
OCTOBER 14, 1995 VOL. 20/ NO. 42

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## On a raison de dire



## The No man

**16** Quebec Liberal leader Daniel Johnson has often been underestimated by friend and foe alike. But as he shoulders the burden of defending Canadian unity as head of the official No committee in the province's referendum campaign, Johnson is earning new respect. A new poll confirmed that federalists remained ahead three weeks from the vote.

## Assessing the verdict

**40** After nine months of testimony, a jury took less than four hours to acquit O. J. Simpson. But if the trial of the century was over, the saga was destined to continue: Simpson faced more court action, and a black-white split developed as people debated the fairness of the verdict.



## Disk drivers

**64** Slowly but surely, computers are shouldering aside more traditional navigational tools such as maps and guidebooks. But the technological wonder frequently fails to live up to the promise.



# A Matter Of The Heart

For months, watching the Quebec referendum from afar, there have been fleeting moments of anger. But largely it has seemed like such a surreal exercise that it was possible to ignore the dire consequences. But a terrible thought hit home as I walked a lonely route through Vieux Montreal last week—this jewel of a place, those energetic people who have the world by the tail, may be poised to vote themselves out of Canada and break up one of the great federations of the world. And there should be no mistake—Yes means No. No to partnership. No to economic and political association. No to Canada. It will be the end of it all.

The old town does look a little shabby, with plenty of abandoned buildings and porches and fences. But in the warmth of the midday sun, with a gentle breeze ruffling the leaves that have started ever so gently to turn to autumnal hues, there is still much of the old magic in the air. The place has soul and style and a special energy, like most cities of the world. And it is so bound up in the history of the country that, in virtually any direction, there are remnants of triumphs and tragedies past. At the foot of the gentle slope above the handsomely restored old port, there is the site of one of the oldest European settlements in North America, Place Royale. Nearby, in Marché Bonsecours and, up the street, L'Hôtel de ville, whose balcony was Charles de Gaulle's platform in 1967. Beyond, there is the familiar silver profile of the French parliament at Expo 67, now the site of the famous Casino de Montreal, testament both to temptation and civilization.

To the north, just outside the old town, there is the vision of the modern Quebec, the buildings standing as demarcation points in the struggle of a people for their rightful place. At the corner of Jeanne-Mance and Boulevard René-Lévesque, the very name of the former Quebec premier is a reminder of the province's awakening—and that the fashionable byway once bore the name of the governor in chief of North America, Lord Dorchester. To the east, stands a proud symbol of the Quiet Revolution, the distinctive head

quarters of Hydro Quebec, the company formed from the nationalization of private utilities by Lévesque when he was natural resources minister in the Liberal government of premier Jean Lesage. The new building on the north side is Campion Desjardins, home of the multibillion-dollar engine that is the legacy of the grassroots energy revolution movement that became Canada's most powerful financial cooperative. Directly across the street is the minister's province of the federal government, the Maple Leaf flag flying proudly, at Place Guy Paré. A sometime federal minister in the Liberal government of Lester Pearson, Pearson died a broken man after years of hounding by his parliamentary enemies. That experience steered a new generation of francophones to take Ottawa by storm as a group. Their leader was Pierre Elliott Trudeau, and his outsiders were fiery labor leader Jean Marchand and cerebral journalist Gérard Pelletier. Their tenure in Ottawa firmly established that francophones have a place at the centre of the nation's affairs as certainly as Bombardier and Power and Desjardins have claimed their rightful place in the global marketplace. And all of that has happened in the French language and culture have become even more secure in the North American sea.

These are all the logical reasons why Quebecers should vote No on Oct. 30. But everyone has personal ones as well. Mine have to do with the fact that I was born on the north slope of the mountain, grew up in Quebec's Eastern Townships (where English and French learned to live harmoniously) and started my career on these same streets, just south of Vieux Quebec, just north of Place Royale. But most of all, I remember my grandparents who are buried near the banks of the Yamaska River in Waterloo. When I visit their graves, and go to see my in-laws and visit with friends, I don't want to have to show a passport at the border.

*Robert Lewis*

**Maclean's**  
CANADIAN LITERARY NEWS MAGAZINE



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## A friendly face

Finally, someone—Matthew Perry—with a smile on his face and a sparkle in his eye on the cover of *Men's* ("Star of the sitcom," Cover, Oct. 2). As a mother of three children, it was great to not have to look at a wacko or read how Canada is falling apart. There is success out there. You ought want to do this more often.

Jeanne O'Grady,  
Ottawa, Ont.

I just finished reading your piece on Matthew Perry and *Friends*. When are the networks going to realize that we Generation Xers won't be loyal to them just because they are calling us young? It's the content, just like Perry said, that attracts us to the show. That, and the fact that we know that Matthew wouldn't dare allow a younger actor veteran decorator to take his Goliath away.

Julian Chavch  
Toronto, Ont.

Your article describes *Friends* as being about "middle-classness with middle-class joys and values" and "seems staged in the age of AIDS." As a dedicated fan, I can testify for the fact that, of the six friends, there is only one who is associated with his middle-class job: the middle-class values, I get the impression that these people would love to have what their parents had; they are just having trouble achieving it. The only sexual angle is over the fact that they are not getting enough of it. The phrases you use describe the stereotypes of Generation X, instead of being thoughtful insights into the nature of the program.

Rebeck Brown,  
Vancouver, B.C.

## Country bumpkins

In "Urban cowboys and rural druids," Allan Fotheringham wrongly states that "Canada is a more urban nation than the United States" (*Columns*, Sept. 23). By my measure of urbanization, this is not true. He then states that while more than 30 per cent of Canadians live in metropolitan areas with a population of one million, only about 10 per cent of Americans live in similar settings. The figure for Canada is roughly correct, for the United States, the figure is way off: over 24 million Americans, or 30 per cent of the total U.S. population in 1990, lived in metropolitan areas of more than one



Perry, it is the content that attracts Generation Xers to TV's *Friends*

million. Canada, in fact, is less urbanized and shows lower levels of metropolitan concentration than the United States.

L. S. Brown,  
Professor of geography and planning,  
University of Toronto  
Toronto, Ont.

## Finding a cure

As alternative medicine builds on a kind of Aesop's fable premise that the human body, not drugs, fights disease ("Healers or quacks?" Cover, Sept. 25). The goal is to stimulate or free the body to heal itself.

Placebo cure is the most potent illusion, and this is precisely what we should be seeking for. But it is a process we do not understand. It can be a physician's touch or a change in a person's perspective brought on by hope. In some cases, ritualized means are needed to help induce the body to effect the cure, and that is where alternative medicine performs its useful function.

Raymond Petersen,  
St. John's, Ont. ✉

## Honorable mention

As deputy assistant secretary of state for Canadian affairs in the Bush administration, I feel impelled to comment regarding Marc McDonald's book excerpt from *Yankee Doodle Dandy* in your Sept. 25 issue. I am no longer surprised at the denigration by Canada's industry as pariahs of your country's governments and violent armed forces who carried their share in the many battles of this century. Concomitant Ken Sommers's small naval force in the Gulf War indeed started off short of many necessities, but not of traditional Canadian courage and resourcefulness. War sees the Canadian contribution all that more. Perhaps the operative phrase might be that of Henry V, as supplied by his somewhat politically indifferent speech writer William Shakespeare: "The fewer men, the greater share of honour."

Robert H. Povey,  
New York City

## Free speech

The Supreme Court's decision in favor of cigarette advertising notwithstanding ("Up in smoke," *Business*, Oct. 2), there is nothing like a working set of lungs to guarantee free speech.

Franklin H. Morgan,  
Addicks, Ont.

## Rhetoric of power

How ironic that while we hear story after story about people from all over the world willing to go in almost any lengths to get into Canada, separately want to leave this great country on the basis of little more than a 15-minute stay in a customs line. The people of Quebec are too smart to be duped by the rhetoric of the power-hungry elite.

Alain Merzian  
St. Catharines, Ont.

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## LETTERS

### 'Sincere hope'

As a Canadian living in China, and a political science graduate, I agree that Thomas Hume-Dixon's special report on China ("China's challenge," Sept. 4) was right on the money. The China I have experienced is not of extreme contrasts. Communist party cadres move through sprawling cities in new jeeps, while rural folk still bring produce to market by donkey cart. The plastic and paper of modern products is often burned at the roadside, while waste land from restaurants is carted away by bike to be used as fertilizer and pig feed. It is my sincere hope, though, that China's great experimental success, not only for the Chinese citizens desperately wanting to develop, but for the good of the planet.

Daniel Wilson,  
Wahat, Inner Mongolia, China

### Mindful things

As a psychologist, I have that recent research supports my professional conclusions in business in reducing problems related to productivity, absenteeism and personal relations. Derrine McDermid writes, however, as if the only true approach to management came from the pages of Machiavelli ("Sharing the anger," The Nation Line, Sept. 18). Describing interactions to enhance workplace communications as merely a corporate tool is an unexciting spiritual stimulus to many corporate leaders who shows a lack of understanding of how corporations have made profitable use of psychologists' skills. Before slapping a respected partner in the business world, McDermid should better research why most large corporations regard psychological services as a valued aspect of their operations.

Tom Strong  
Southern, B.C.

Derrine McDermid's support of authoritative management is debatable. It is an obvious corollary of the Peter Principle that most bosses are incompetent. In addition to their flawed salaries and pensions, executives have the satisfaction of giving orders and seeing them obeyed. Unfortunately, these executives are often harmful because they are based on incomplete information. By providing feedback from workers, managers management makes fewer blunders.

Sharon M. Tary,  
Seattle, N.D.

### 'A familial hero'

Did anyone ask Bruce Griffin, Hans Gert's husband, if when he quit his job to stay home with their children he thought it was to "play house as husband" ("The Nation's new hero," Television, Sept. 18)? How appalling to think any parent who invests his or her time in the shaping of the next generation is entertaining themselves at some amusing game. What a slap in the face to all the men and women who stay at home and raise their children. As a male book reviewer, I counted a significant credit



Griffin, China: for the good of the planet

of Griffin in my school locker as someone I aspired to be like—perhaps I should now display a picture of Griffin on my fridge as a familial hero.

Ann Haskamp,  
Brussels, Oct.

### They were there

In his "Ten reasons why the separatists are losing" ("The Nation's Business, Sept. 10), Peter C. Newman states that neither the NDP nor the Reform party ran candidates in Quebec at the 1995 federal election. He cannot be more incorrect. The NDP ran in 75 out of 75 ridings in that province.

Laurie A. James,  
Toronto, Ont.

Maclean's columnist makes the claim that voters may be misled by facts and theory. Both imply some editors and authors mislead readers. Both letters in the October 16 magazine (pp. 177-180) show that the NDP ran in 75 out of 75 ridings in that province.

E-mail: [editor@maclean.ca](mailto:editor@maclean.ca)  
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# OPENING NOTES



Gilles Dine, Dion: 'We're not here to discuss politics'

## Avoiding questions

Nailing is free of political overtones in pre-independence Quebec. It seemed a nice gesture when pop singer Celine Dion chose to launch a European tour with a straight shot to Quebec City as a tribute to the city's role as the French-speaking capital of North America. Dion is a Quebecer with a huge international follow-up. Her 1995 album, *The Colour of My Love*, has sold more than 10 million copies world-wide and her 10-show tour is already sold

out. But at a news conference, that Sorey Celine is arranged to honor Dion for these achievements, Quebec politics won't look over. Reporters recalled a comment of hers in 1998 when she said that Canada should "divulge" day by day. In the ensuing fuss, she had quickly backed away from that position, insisting she was first and foremost a Quebecer, and pledged never again to talk politics. Last week, the public period in an adulated version of her of her French-language hits, *Parler pour te faire entendre* (You'll still talk loud), now playing



Quebec supporters: Internet presence

## A virtual country

Although voters will not decide the outcome of the Quebec referendum until Oct. 30, it happens in cyberspace as if the sovereignty issue already won. The Quebec government has set up a site on the World Wide Web (<http://www.gouv.qc.ca>). It includes an interactive welcome, both in print and sound files, from Premier Jacques Parizeau, saying he hopes that people like Quebec's Internet presence "through to visit in person." However, can also find Parizeau's speech during all the referendum debate on Sept. 20 on the national assembly, as well as a place to send the premier a note. The word "Canada" rarely appears in the material, making its way into a document on Quebec's population and economy only as a reference to a geodetic map, the *Carte du Québec*. A note about Quebec's democratic heritage says that, since 1867, Quebec has regularly guaranteed its independence to Canada. And residents of the descriptions of Quebec's society and economy could be concerned for concluding that the province is actually a country. One website, for instance, states that Quebec has the 17th largest economy in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, a group of wealthy industrial nations.



## Leaving an aftertaste

Russian has become used to seeing double when it comes to Smirnoff vodka. On one side of a bitter legal fight for the right to sell the drink under the Smirnoff name is Farmington, Conn.-based, distiller Heublein Inc. In the other corner is a small Russian distillery that descendants of the 19th-century Russian vodka baron, Pyotr Smirnoff, founded in 1995. It challenges

Smirnoff: 287 vodka recipes

Heublein's claim to have bought exclusive rights to the Smirnoff name from a Russian family in 1909. The stakes in their battle are huge. Heublein supplies 14 million litres of the billion litres of vodka that Russians drink annually. Last month, the Russian Patent Office ruled that the Moscow-based Smirnoffs lost Heublein to the punch by registering the family name in 1991. And a court order on Smirnoffs' lawsuit has awarded rights to the famed name to the family group led by Boris Smirnoff, a great-great grandson of the original distiller. At a victory celebration, Smirnoff announced plans to expand production by introducing new brands based on 287 family-held recipes. But, the legal ratings apply only in Russia, leaving Heublein free to market Smirnoff vodka in the rest of the world. And the huge international concern is already moving to solve its vodka headache, by appealing for decisions to the Russian Supreme Court.

# PASSIONS

## The ambassador of asbestos

Charles Lavrice, 45, was born and raised in Thetford Mines, an asbestos-producing city of 15,000 people about 100 km south of Quebec City. In the 25 years he has worked in the mines, he has developed a remarkable loyalty to the controversial industry. And like thousands of other Canadians, Lavrice does some mining in his spare time. The married father of two children, however, has attacked the sport with a particular zeal. In 20 years, he has taken part in 44 marathons, including the major race in Boston, New York City, London and Chicago. Last week, he participated in his first triathlon, a 100 km swim, 100 km bike and 100 km run through the Laurentians Mountains north of Montreal, which he finished in 12 hours, 58 minutes, placing 20th in a field of 44 triathletes. "I'm not a triathlete," Lavrice jokes. "I'm a triathlete."



Lavrice: 'Is lot of myths'

Myth? In his opinion? Telling people around the world that there are no health risks involved in the mining of asbestos. There have been a lot of myths surrounding asbestos mining since the United States banned asbestos in the late 1980s. Because the United States was our biggest client, our community was hit hard with layoffs. So I'm trying to help out by debunking the myths and facts about asbestos. Asbestos mining used to be bad in the 1940s and '50s. But by the time I started mining in 1970, things had already improved dramatically. Now, we use equipment, including robots, to extract the material. When I finished in the top 1,000 among 38,000 competitors at the Laurentians marathon a few years ago, the press called me "the northern miner." They said I was a hero who was well in an endurance sport. I'm proud to be the ambassador of asbestos.

## Bell gets its fingers burned on 'The Net'

Users of the Internet, the globe-spanning web of computer communication networks, are essentially a lonely apartment lot. But they can be a force to be reckoned with—6 provided. The giant Montreal-based Bell Canada has learned that lesson, after applying to trademark the phrase "The Net" to describe its own commercial package of telecommunications services. It launched the action back in 1992, when only the computer connections were familiar with the working of the Internet. But the computer communication system has since moved into the mainstream—and because familiarity breeds the Net, just last month, members of Electronic Frontier Canada, a cyberpace lobby group of about 130, caught up with Bell's application through a notice in the

Trademark Journal. The organization's president, David Jones, a computer scientist at Bell-Motiv University in Hamilton, accused Bell of trying to "take away" the Internet. And members started posting stories on the Internet, asking supporters to start collecting every reference they could find to the phrase "The Net"—to show how it has entered the vocabulary. Bell quickly put the message, and answered—on the Net—that it was dropping its application to trademark the expression. "Hackers of the world unite."

Edited by BARBARA WICKSON



# POP MOVIES

Top movies in Canada, weekend according to box office receipts during the seven days that ended on Oct. 5. (In brackets: number of theatres/total gross)

1. *Scream* (13/15) \$1,738,795
2. *Shogun* (33/37) \$1,612,330
3. *David in the Wind* (20/21) \$1,170,770
4. *Dangerous Minds* (25/26) \$954,400
5. *The Big Green* (13/15) \$827,779
6. *The Great Escape* (28/29) \$827,409
7. *Twins* (16/17) \$794,750
8. *Backdraft* (20/21) \$710,413
9. *Steel Dawn* (22/23) \$626,048
10. *Heaven* (17/18) \$536,788

SOURCE: NIELSEN ENTERTAINMENT INC.

# BEST-SELLERS

## FICITION

1. *The Delirious Prophecy*, Jason Boddy (35)
2. *The Last Night*, Michael Crichton (3)
3. *Crimes in Britain*, Dick Francis (2)
4. *The First Wives*, Albert Camus (2)
5. *The Heart's Last Light*, Susan Robalo (16)
6. *Coming Home*, Penelope Fitzgerald (1)
7. *A Fine Balance*, Arundhati Roy (1)
8. *Summer Whispers*, John Galsworthy (2)
9. *Sister's Tears*, Julia J. (1)
10. *The Piano Makers*, Douglas (1)

## NONFICTION

1. *In the Arms of the Weak Gods*, John Deane (3)
2. *My American Journey*, Bill Brown (2)
3. *Arise from a Small Island*, Bill Brown (2)
4. *My Place*, John Deane (2)
5. *Encounters*, John Deane (2)
6. *My Place*, John Deane (2)
7. *Wishes and Dreams*, John Deane (2)
8. *Wishes and Dreams*, John Deane (2)
9. *Wishes and Dreams*, John Deane (2)
10. *Wishes and Dreams*, John Deane (2)

# PASSAGES

**AWARDED:** To Irish poet Suzanne Rowan, 56, the Nobel Prize for Literature, worth more than \$1 million, by the Swedish Academy in Stockholm. The academy cited her works of "lyrical beauty and ethical depth which enrich everyday existence and the human spirit." A Catholic born in Northern Ireland, but who now lives in the Irish republic, Rowan has been an outspoken critic of both sides in the sectarian violence that has plagued the North. She is the third Irishman and second Irish poet, after William Butler Yeats (1923), to win the Nobel prize. The other winner was playwright Samuel Beckett in 1969.



**DIED:** Former Bank of Montreal chairman Fred McNeil, 78, whose ground-breaking move in Calgary from Montreal in 1975 signalled the emergence of the growing economic clout of the West, as his estate made in Grimsby, Ont., 140 km south of Calgary. McNeil's move, all eyes on him, had been based in Montreal or Toronto. Two years after retiring in 1991, McNeil took over troubled Dorco Canada Ltd. and ran the company until 1998.

**AWARDED:** To Irish historian Eric Hobsbawm, 78, the 55th Nobel Prize for Literature at the ceremony in Stockholm. The award, the richest in Canada, is awarded to the best English book in international relations. The 55th-year work is an overview of the forces that modelled the second world war of the 20th century.

**APPOINTED:** Former US ambassador and former Ontario NDP leader Stephen Leacock, 57, as deputy executive director of UNESCO at UN headquarters in New York City.

**WORK:** Country singer Alan Jackson, 32, entertainer of the year award at the annual Country Music Association awards in Nashville, Tenn. Also, Jackson, 38, was best female vocalist and three other awards, while Vince Gill, 38, was named best male vocalist for a second fifth year in a row.



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## ANOTHER VIEW



## The trouble with doing the right thing

BY CHARLES GORDON

**C**hildren, as we all know, are beset  
with problems, one after another.  
We want to educate them, but  
sometimes there isn't the money to  
spend and we are busy people and whatnot.  
Still, it wouldn't do to ignore these prob-  
lems altogether. That would be avoidance,  
and we know that avoidance should be  
avoided.

So we embark, each time a problem  
arises, on a new round of busyness. That is, we  
do things that don't really have anything to  
do with solving problems, but at least we  
are doing something. So we feel better, al-  
though the problem remains. This comes  
from lacking the energy or the will to tri-  
angle real solutions. Instead, we impose  
quick solutions—stick a warning label on it,  
require a helmet—defuse them now rather  
thoroughly, then sit back and wonder why  
we still have problems.

We only have to consider Veldpa, bicycle  
bells and cigarettes to understand the  
phenomenon. This is a society, trying hard  
not to goch to do the right thing, as it is  
so something.

The Canadian Radio-television and Tele-  
communications Commission, better known  
as the CRTC, is holding hearings this month  
on television violence. It will hear about tests  
of the Veldpa, a device that can be attached to  
the television set and programmed to block  
out shows that exceed predetermined levels  
of sex and violence.

Interesting notion. Some people think sol-  
ution lies there. But, when you come right  
down to it, what does it do about the exis-  
tence of the problem of it is a problem of  
television violence? Nothing. Television vi-  
olence continues. What does it do about edu-  
cating impressionable minds on the meaning  
of television violence and how to keep it  
from warping their impressionable lives?  
Nothing. And what does it do to prevent  
broadcasters from sending out this message?  
Nothing again.

*For every problem, we  
embark on a new round  
of busyness. At least  
we are doing something,  
so we feel better, although  
the problem remains.*

But we will have done something, right?  
We will have given a machine the responsi-  
bility for dealing with a problem.  
Look at it again. What is the real problem?  
Broadcasters are putting crap out on the air  
waves, and, as two, people are watching it.  
If people stopped watching it, that would  
help. Broadcasters would notice, probably.  
Beyond that, if people were in television  
networks, licensed sponsors' products,  
these sorts of actions, they could have  
some effect.

As far as the children, wouldn't it have a  
long-lasting effect if parents took some ac-  
tion—told their kids not to watch the pro-  
grams and, knowing that this could not be  
completely effective, tried to give the chil-  
dren an understanding of what violence is,  
and how life as portrayed on television re-  
lates to life as it is really lived?  
This would require parents to talk to their  
kids about it.

The secondary bicycle helmet issue is a  
little more complicated, since few will dispute  
that bicycle helmets, like seat belts, are nec-  
essary, save lives and health costs. The  
counterargument, that people like the feel of  
the wind in their hair, is often made by peo-

ple who wear baseball caps, sometimes back-  
wards. Still, such a law, now in effect in  
Ontario for those under 16, pushes over onto  
law enforcement agencies the responsibility  
for enforcing an unworkable law at the  
same time as it sends dealing with many of  
the important causes of the problem.

One of these causes is the lack of alternat-  
ives for bicyclists in sharing the road with  
cars and trucks. So, are we hiding more  
bicycle paths? Are we creating bicycle lanes  
on city streets? Of course not. Governments  
don't spend money any more, manna!  
What we get instead, in Ontario anyway, is a  
helmet law that doesn't apply to adults, a law  
that police can't possibly enforce and aren't  
much interested in enforcing.

Oh, and by the way, would we be thinking  
of increasing the number of law enforcement  
officers to deal with these new responsibilities?  
You know the answer.

Which brings us to smoking, where we  
again ask the police to clean up a mess we  
made, then walked away from.

The known facts so far, cigarettes are  
killers, people smoke them anyway, includ-  
ing young people, the government allows the  
sale of cigarettes anyway, the government  
will not increase taxes on them because it  
fears smuggling, and the government will not  
enforce laws against smuggling.

A fine display so far. So what does the gov-  
ernment do? It puts warning labels on cig-  
arette packages. It holds hearings on how  
strong the warnings should be, people dis-  
cuss the warnings as if it mattered. Mean-  
while, smoking is up because the price is  
down because the government won't enforce  
the law against smuggling.

Next step? The Ontario government pays  
a law center to do a study on cigarette ad-  
vertising. Then, it passes a law lowering the  
sale of cigarettes to children under 16, then  
to children under 19. (Incidentally, are that it  
isn't working. And why should it? Can we  
reasonably expect every convenience store  
to ask every customer, "Are you over 16  
years of age? And can we reasonably expect them to be  
a law enforcement officer around to deal  
with violations? Hey, these are tough times.  
Governments are awfully busy shuffling  
down hospitals and can't get around to it  
just now.

So where do we go from here? It's just a  
guess, but expect a call for bigger warning  
labels.

What, to the end, will become of us? What  
new products will be coming out? Is this  
the long-awaited compromise on gun  
control? WARNING. Guns go boom! What will  
we be wearing helmets for next? Goggles?  
Can we attach a clip to our TV sets to block  
out misleading advertising or exaggerated  
government claims? Should the clip carry a  
warning label?

What about this—is it so easy it might just  
work—a helmet to be worn while watching  
television? It could come with a blindfold as  
tied to the front of it. And a warning la-  
bel—warning: wearing this blindfold may  
impair vision.

BY BARRY CAME

His Daniel Johnson's bright blue gaze there sometimes slips a frowning look of startled intensity. It arrives swiftly, and just as swiftly leaves. But it glimmered idly for an instant one evening last week in a suburban Montreal hotel room when the Quebec Liberal leader during a pause on the referendum trail, was reminded that he is often underestimated by friends and foe alike. "I know it happens," he snapped, eyes already wandering in sleep with the spreading annoyance. "But I also happen to know who raises this stuff. OK? I happen to know who makes the final decisions." And then the statement passed as Johnson, the man who is carrying Canada's cause on his shoulders, settled back into the sofa. "Besides," he chuckled, "I'm not the real boss around here, then why are they wasting so much time worrying about me?"

Not a bad question. For it is true that Quebec's separatist leaders do seem to be expending a disproportionate effort attempting to belittle the personality, talents and vision of the man at the helm of the opposing camp. With Quebec Premier Jacques Parizeau and his Ottawa ally, Bloc Quebecois leader Lucien Bouchard, were at it again last week. While Parizeau was denigrating Johnson's "seniority complex," Bouchard was surely denouncing him as simply being "not worthy" of becoming premier again. There is, too, doubt, a heavy dose of campaign rhetoric in the slurs the leader of Quebec's Liberal party has endured with increasing frequency of late. But there may be another, more profound, reason. And it probably has much to do with the growing recognition that the head of the No forces in Quebec's referendum campaign is performing far beyond the worst fears of his adversaries—and even the best expectations of some of his allies.



# THE REFERENDUM'S NO MAN

## Daniel Johnson is proving his critics to be very wrong

"I think what we are seeing in Daniel Johnson right now is a product of maturity, a politician in his prime who is finally finding his voice," said John Pansella, former premier Robert Bourassa's chief of staff and a key No side strategist in the current referendum campaign. Even Johnson's enemies are ready to gratefully concede the point, if not always in public. "The son of a bitch has really surprised a lot of us," grumbled one disgraced member of Parizeau's Parti Quebecois caucus, leaving anonymously. Mona Danneberg, the former Liberal youth-wer president who belated the party to help found the nascently sovereignist Parti action democrats, was willing to echo a similar view for the record, adding to reporters on the campaign trail last week that Johnson "is more widely anchored" as a Liberal leader than



most people think, and is likely to emerge from a referendum victory with an even tighter grip on his party. Danneberg, no friend of the staunchly federalist Johnson, even went so far as to add "I, for one, hope he stays." Federalist sympathizers in Quebec—and beyond—would agree, listing few causes for real complaint about the campaign he has been waging in defence of Canada. Certainly, the opinion polls indicate that the coalition of forces assembled under Johnson's command continues to hold an edge in the battle for the hearts and minds of Quebec's voters. The most recent surveys, carried out between Oct. 1 and Oct. 3 by Groupe Léger & Léger for the *Journal de Montréal* and Toronto's *Globe and Mail*, suggests that federalists have not lost any ground, nor have the sovereignists gained any, despite

the formal launch of Parizeau's referendum effort. The pollsters, after distributing slightly more than 15 per cent of respondents who were either undecided or unwilling to answer, put support for the No side in the referendum at 52.8 per cent, and for the Yes at 47.2 per cent. The results were almost identical to a another Léger & Léger survey conducted a week earlier, when the *Montreal* polling firm found 53.2 per cent for the No and 46.8 per cent for the Yes. What is more, they are only marginally more optimistic about the separatists' referendum prospects than other recent polls, which have consistently given the federalists much higher leads, ranging from six to 10 points. Judging from past results, Léger & Léger's surveys often tend to give a bigger share of support to sovereignists than do most other polling firms. Observers note that the company is a family affair with

strong links to the nationalist movement. It was founded by the late Marcel Léger, a former PQ cabinet minister, and is now run by his son, Jean-Marc.

But no matter who the messenger, the message from all the pollsters is more or less the same. With three weeks to go until Quebec's 4.6 million eligible voters cast their ballots on Oct. 30, Parizeau's machine had clearly stalled. In fact, there were plenty of little signs last week that the separatists' dream of leading

Quebec to independence may be in even more trouble than the polls suggest. It was supposed to be the week that finally witnessed the long-promised takeover for the Yes camp. Partisans appeared on provincewide prime-time television to officially launch the effort. The troops blanketed the province with tens of thousands of Yes posters—dances and houses and peace symbols in bright green and warm yellow, promising an equally colorful future. The premier himself boarded a psychobically decorated bus and set off to tour the hinterland. For two days, he wandered through eastern Quebec and up the St. Lawrence River, encountering at almost every stop sparse crowds, technical breakdowns and awkward questions.

In Montserrat, 100 km east of Quebec City, media representatives and campaign staff came close to outnumbering the 65 people who

**The Liberals' Daniel Johnson**  
Anchored by No side supporters at a campaign rally last week in Montreal. "I know who runs this show"

showed for a luncheon speech in a hall capable of seating 400. Even worse, he feared himself confronted by the local anglo, Jean-Charles Gosselin, who worried about about the "lack of precision" in the separatist proposal for a political and economic partnership with the rest of Canada. "The majority of our local products are made of wood, steel and lead and they are exported across the province, North America and the world," said Mayor Gosselin as Parizeau listened in pained silence. "It seems to me to be important that someone take the time to give clear proof that our products will be able to continue to circulate on the markets."

If that was not bad enough, Parizeau was forced to suffer a brainstorm a day later, untended by one his own allies, Mario Dumont. Following in the premier's footsteps among the towns and villages that dot the lower St. Lawrence valley, the young leader apparently unaware that his words were on the record, promised to importers about what he described as a "linear mentality" among many of the *Francophone* and the "Don't ask me to do psychanalysis," he complained, pointing at accusing finger at separatist troops who seemed unwilling to "pull on their pants" to fight.

Strangely by both the local reception and Dumont's barely veiled criticism, Parizeau finally lit a spark in his campaign late in the week in the town of Malabre on the St. Lawrence estuary. Back by request to give by looking out to better anger at some of Quebec's leading businessmen, in particular two of the most successful entrepreneurs in the province, Bombardier chairman Laurent Beaudin and Power Corp. president Paul Desmarais. "Now, they spit on us, the ones who financed their pro-



## Johnson deserves much of the credit for the federalists' strong campaign

Johnson with his wife, Suzanne Murray, practicing his golf swing in St. John's last week (below right), authoring the surge

jects. Parizeau told a wildly cheering crowd in direct reference to Beaudin and Desmarais, both of whom have outspoken in their opposition to sovereignty. "My friends, we have to get out. If not, they will consistently kick our asses."

Parizeau made no attempt to hide the reasons behind his incendiary outburst in Malabre. He later told reporters that he hoped to ignite an element of pride among Quebecers who have been victims of Quebec businessmen "hence campaign" that in all too candidly working "I never dreamed that those the Quebec community helped to be-

come entrepreneurs at the first order would turn back against the same community to say "You are unacceptable," he complained. "I expected a lot of things at this campaign, but I never expected this."

If there was a note of angry desperation in the separatist camp last week, however, there was much jubilation among federalists. While Dumont was granting about the lack of separatist fire in his home town of Rivière-du-Loi, Prime Minister Jean Charest was masterfully exploiting the support of hockey legends of old in Ottawa, including a pair of Montreal Canadiens greats, Jean Beliveau and Henri Richard. Charest followed that up with his first personal foray into the campaign as a Na rily in his home town of Shawinigan, Que. Joined by Johnson, Very Leader Jean Charest, six senators and 12 francophone Liberals from outside Quebec, the Prime Minister reminded the audience that they already wielded great power in Canada. "The French fact has become a reality in Ottawa," he said. "Francophone Québécois occupy the highest positions in the administration."

The Na camp staged another impressive show of political muscle in Montreal, where more than 2,500 supporters crowded into the Métropole nightclub to dance in the aisles as a parade of celebrities took repeated potshots at the separatists. Even Miki Mulroney was on hand, promising that her husband, former prime minister Brian Mulroney, would soon make into the referendum fight. Liberal Leader Johnson, the star of the show, told the cheering crowd that "we don't change" when it comes across Canada. The rest of the country to work with Quebec to change the way the federal system functions.

Clearly, the federalist referendum machine was putting together along as both sides headed into the final three weeks of the campaign. True, the polls were close enough to make prediction about the eventual outcome uncertain. But events were clearly moving in the direction the federalists want—see, in fact, that virtually every day the Na camp is growing increasingly jittery about the possibility of committing the fatal error that might undo their effort. And that includes the main act. "We're not winning," Johnson insisted in an interview with *Maclean's*. "The campaign is just starting, too many things can go wrong. I've been in politics long enough to know that you can only say your way's on the day the voice are counted."

## THE REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN



✓ Prime Minister Jean Charest made his first foray into the campaign, along with 30 of his MPs, 12 of them francophone, from outside Quebec. At a Na rally in his home town of Shawinigan, Que. Charest said that Quebecers looking for more power should realize that they already have a major voice in running Canada.

✓ In Ottawa, Russian President Victor Chernomyrdin entered the referendum debate. During a three-day visit to Canada, he spoke out in support of "an indivisible Canada."

✓ Mario Dumont, one of the three leaders of the sovereigntist forces, condemned the "loser mentality"

that he said has gripped much of the separatist camp. During his speech, the fiery Parti action leader urged the sovereignty coalition to join.

✓ This week, the English speaking premiers were entering the campaign. Ontario's Mike Harris was expected to make a surprise Toronto appearance to separatist proposals for a new partnership with the rest of Canada. Then, Charest and the nine English premiers were to meet in Montreal on Friday, Oct. 13, to heartily welcome Quebec Premier U. Paug. Premier Jacques Parizeau turned down an invitation to join them.

Still, the federalist troop have, so far at least, waged an effective battle. And for that, Johnson himself deserves much credit. For Quebec's Liberal leader has truly put his own name on the campaign. He presided over the construction of a smoothly functioning campaign organization, headquartered at the second floor of a nondescript office block on fashionable rue St-Denis in east-end Montreal. It is a high tech effort, complete with a so-called war room, banks of television monitors and a staff of trained volunteers who are on hand from well before dawn to well into midnight. More important, Johnson has proven himself to be a shrewd strategist. "On the one hand, a scrappy" will longtime colleague André Bouchette, finance minister in Johnson's shrewd government. Johnson became premier in January, 1994, after Robert Bourassa retired, but held the job only six months before his Liberals went down to defeat at the hands of Parizeau's PQ the following September. "He showed that in the first week of the [referendum] campaign when he studied Parizeau in the national assembly. Few ever saw Parizeau so badly that way."

For some, Johnson's emergence as a skilled campaigner is no surprise, and they point to last year's provincial election as proof. "He brought us from 10 points down with two weeks to go to a virtual tie on voting day," noted Bourassa. But for others, friend and foe alike, little was expected from the man who was recently dismissed by *Le Press* chief editorials as "the most mediocre politician in the cabinet seat." "Duke in by a means alone in that opinion. Part of the problem is Johnson's personality. In a trade where the art of the campaign should come as easily as breathing, he is an art exception. Like Clinton, the Quebec Liberal leader is not much of a natural politician. He often becomes a difficulty in cross-examination even basic questions. At a recent rally near Quebec City, he was introduced to the oldest resident of the town, a man close to 100. The old fellow was clearly puzzled by Johnson's name. "I've never seen it in the room," But Johnson's personality spared the man's head once in a parliamentary way, and prepared to move on. He was saved by his wife, 48-year-old

## 'THERE IS STILL CONFUSION'

As leader of Quebec's Oppositive Liberals, Daniel Johnson heads the official Na committee in the referendum campaign. He spoke last week while campaigning in Laval, just north of Montreal, with Senator Eustache Chénier, Philippe and Montreal Bureau Chief Barry Cane. Excerpt:

**Maclean's:** Why are you winning?  
**Johnson:** We're not winning. The campaign has just started. You win on the day of the vote. I happen to think the more people know, the more they vote Na. People say, "Hey, what is this? We don't need this separation of our economy." We shouldn't give up the state that we have in Canada. When people under-

stand what the question really means, that won't be renewing federalism if we vote 'Yes,' that it's a new country, they are more likely to vote No.

But there's still a lot of confusion out there, and that's why the campaign is important. If there's one Quebecer who believes that by voting 'Yes,' that means our seats in Ottawa will represent us and have leverage, I have work to do. The last thing it will do is increase our leverage. How can you expect people in authority [in English Canada] to respond positively to an offer of partnership from seven million people, a majority of whom have broken with the country?

**Pou parlez-vous—untranslatable.**

**Maclean's:** But isn't it true that Quebec will lose leverage with a Na vote?

**Johnson:** Not at all. [The issue is] how can we embark on a program to make the federation more efficient that would culminate ultimately in constitutional amendment? A Na would provide a more positive atmosphere in which Quebec could go on seeking its objectives of recognition. If you become a loyal supporter of maintaining Canada and

improving the lot of all Canadians, that provides an opportunity to discuss in a totally different type of atmosphere the problem which we still have.

**Maclean's:** Many people in English Canada hope that a big Na vote will make the whole Quebec issue go away.

**Johnson:** Well, they're wrong. That would be a misreading of what Quebec is all about. Their willingness to co-operate with other Canadians to change things is very real. All Quebecers want change, but the background is the realization by all Quebecers that the Canadian Constitution should ultimately reflect our specific characteristics, our distinct character.

**Maclean's:** Could you spell out what you will be pressing for?

**Johnson:** No. It has nothing to do with the referendum. Even if I came up with a tremendous set of detailed proposals, the day after a Na vote Jacques Parizeau will still be the premier. He will not take our platform; he will decide it from here to eternity. Quebecers will be able to choose at the next election whether they

trust us with a series of proposals.

**Maclean's:** What could still go wrong for the Na campaign?

**Johnson:** A flap-slapping incident would be no good—there's no question. There are a few awkward moments likely to occur. We are saying millions of words, there are hundreds of spokesmen in our camp. Somebody will missp. But you don't decide to break a campaign or a ship of this tongue by something that somebody who's not used to public speaking says to a partisan crowd.

**Maclean's:** How important is it to get a so-called double majority, a majority of francophone voters and a majority of all voters?

**Johnson:** We don't want to stray away from the basic fact that when you count the votes, you count them, you don't weigh them. But politically, it would be helpful. It immediately stops any attempt by people who don't think in terms of others to start venting their anger. I hope the result will be so convincing after we say that we can just turn the page and go on.

Summe Morel, who delicately gauged his bid, coaxing him into conversation with the man.

There have been other, more damaging, incidents. His relations with one former cabinet colleague, Luc Bouché, are still tense as a result of what can only be described as a lack of basic courtesy. She remains on dry-shoot efforts Johnson supporters made to recruit a new candidate to run in her riding in the 1994 election even before she had announced her decision to retire. At the time, Bouché vowed never to have anything more to do with Johnson. After much persuasion, she eventually agreed to campaign in the re-elections, but pointedly recalled that she did not have to get along well with everyone in order to make common cause for a goal as important as defeating separatism.

It is incidents like that that once prompted a former colleague to describe Johnson as being "as warm as a hairbrush." But there is an other side to the man, not often glimpsed by those beyond his immediate circle. Friends report that he was devastated when his wife [it is his second marriage] was struck with non-lethal skin cancer earlier this year. And he has certainly demonstrated concern for the well-being of another spouse. Westminster Liberal MNA Jacques Chagnon, who was education minister in Johnson's government and his parliamentary assistant for six years when Johnson served as Treasury Board president in Bouché's cabinet, lost a spouse. Chagnon suffered a heart attack while on a fishing trip. "Daniel was one of the first to visit me in the hospital and he was close to tears when he arrived," recalled Chagnon. "He called my wife and my daughters every day when I was in the hospital. Since I've been home, he calls me every other day."

Johnson's relationship with his younger brother, the former PQ premier Pierre-Marc, is one of the sharpest mirrors of Quebec politics. It is clear, however, that the two share a strong bond. Despite their obvious political differences, they have resisted the many attempts by the media over the years to discuss the issue in public. Even today, Johnson's remarks still all at once tempt to probe the subject beyond merely, as he did last week to *Macleod's*. "We get together every now and then for coffee. Sometimes, we have some pretty good discussions." Among political insiders in Quebec City, it was always understood that a past existed between Daniel and Pierre-Marc to the effect that as long as one left one party, the other would not attempt to gain the leadership of the other. And it is certainly true that no one can recall an exchange between the Johnson brothers when they sat on opposite sides of the table in the national assembly.

In terms of political pedigree, Johnson has few peers inside or outside Quebec. The son of Daniel Johnson Sr., who served as Union Nationale premier of Quebec from 1960 to 1966, he grew up in an intensely political household. Quebecers remember him always as a guiding principle for the Johnson family. It was Johnson Sr. who coined the famous phrase "égalité ou indépendance"—equality or independence. For years, it has been used as a convenient key to understanding the political difference between the two brothers. While Pierre-Marc followed the path of separatism into the PQ, Daniel stressed equality within Canada and eventually joined the Liberals.

It has been speculated that one of the forces that drove the Johnson brothers down such different political paths is the fact that Pierre-Marc remained in Quebec through the 2000 October Crisis and the subsequent years of turmoil while Daniel was studying abroad. In 1966, the year the boys' father died, Daniel was earning a master's degree in law at the University of London, where he also ob-

tained a PhD in 1971. After that, he spent two years at the Harvard Business School, completing his studies with an MBA. He did not return to Quebec until 1973, when he was 26.

His subsequent business career was spent in the heady atmosphere of both finance and even higher political connections at Paul Desmarès's Power Corp. in Montreal, where Johnson eventually became vice-president. Finance Minister Paul Martin was there at the same time, as was Chagnon's future spouse, André Desmarès, son of the company president. Throughout Johnson's time at Power Corp., it was always assumed that a political career awaited him. "It was not a question of if, but rather when," Paul Martin later recalled. The moment came in 1981, when former Liberal leader Claude Ryan

## The Johnson brothers have resisted the many attempts to divide them



■ Daniel Jr. (left), Daniel Jr. (center), with mother, and Pierre-Marc in 1990. (courtesy)

persuaded Johnson to run for a seat in the national assembly. He won the newly francophone riding of Verdun, just west of Montreal, and has held it ever since.

Given his background, it is difficult to understand why Johnson has been, and continues to be, so widely misunderstood. It certainly has something to do with his career. "Daniel sometimes has to be reminded that nature may not have been as kind to others as it has been to him," remarks Chagnon, phrasing the issue delicately. In short, he does not suffer from shyness. But he is clearly learning. He now wife, a Montreal housewife whom he courted two years ago after divorcing Jocelyne Pichet, has lost wife and the mother of his two growing children, has obviously had some success in blunting the sharper edges of his personality. At 50, he is also older and wiser.

In recent months, he has gracefully demonstrated that he can sidestep his wooden public image when he listens into someone he really cares about. Clearly, the battle over the future of Canada and Quebec is something that concerns him deeply. He is, in fact, probably the most resiliently federalist leader the Quebec Liberals have had since Jean Lesage in the 1960s. And for that, the day may not be too long distant when those who care about the continued existence of Canada may have occasion to thank him.

BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Geneva

## TASTE THE FEELING.



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BY ANDREW PHILLIPS

all of the eternal referendum, or in the phrase of Montreal humorist Jean Frenet, the "Neverendum." Quebec's long debate about what it wants to do

when it grows up—or whether it really wants to grow up at all—has been going on so long that even the main players seem bored. So far at least, the current campaign flourishes Karl Marx's dictum that history repeats itself: the first time in tragedy, the second time as farce. In 1980, when the federalist forces triumphed over the sovereigntists, there were genuinely tragic overtones at the evoking of Jean Lescaze's romantic dream of a sovereign nation. This time, there is precious little romance—only the farcical spectacle of the separatist leaders at Premier Jacques Parizeau, Bloc Quebecois leader Lucien Bouchard, and Mario Dumont of the tiny Parti action démocratique counterpunching each other and sniping their way through a sour, stalling campaign. Some key questions about the campaign:



■ Dumont (left), Parizeau and Bouchard: the separatist leaders are shaping their way through a sour stalling campaign

ASST of these coming from other provinces and the rest from every continent. The export rate will hardly be affected, though barely one-quarter of one per cent of the total rate.

4. What is this new "partnership" that the sovereigntists are proposing? It was born in June '92 when Parizeau, Bouchard and Dumont signed the deal that brought them together as a formal alliance for the referendum, and gave the historic sovereigntist cause new life. After a few years, under this scenario, Quebec would propose a treaty to the rest of Canada to divide up the national debt and federal assets. Quebec wants to keep a common currency (the Canadian dollar), a customs union with the rest of Canada, free movement of capital, labor and goods between the two new states, and the right of Quebecers to keep their prized Canadian citizenship and passports along with their shiny new Quebec documents.

Quebec would also propose an elaborate set of new common institutions to manage the relationship—an arrangement so complex that it resembles a lot of political Rubik's Goldberg machines. There would be a so-called Partnership Council made up of equal numbers of members from the two new countries, with each side having a veto over decisions. A Partnership Parliamentary Assembly made up of parliamentarians drawn three-quarters from Canada and one-quarter from Quebec, an economic tribunal to resolve trade disputes, and a brand-new accident-in-admission-of-the-relationship. On paper, it sounds like a whole new level of government—hardly an appealing prospect for overgrown Canadian.

In practice, Parizeau is already backing out on the proposed deal. Under his current political pact, who will put emphasis on the details of the new partnership, the premier has put forward it as a much looser arrangement. He has named publicly that Canada and an independent Quebec would negotiate the same policy on such matters

in brief only when they found themselves agreeing on a common course. "It's not a question of a night of veto," he told Radio-Canada on Sept. 10. "This is a decision, a lot like what we've done in Europe, that we take decisions unanimously. In some areas, we can't agree." There's no decision. In others it seems to be going well. "This we decide together."

Parizeau's distinctly reticent approach to a possible partnership only draws attention to the fact that he almost certainly does



## TRACKING THE POLLS

"Do you agree that Quebec should become sovereign, after having made a formal offer to Canada for a new economic and political partnership, within the scope of the bill respecting the future of Quebec and of the agreement signed on June 12, 1995?"

COMPANY	SAMPLE SIZE	SURVEY DATES	YES*	NO*
Léger & Léger	959	Sept. 7-8	20.1%	49.6%
SOM	1,003	Sept. 8-12	45.1	54.9
COMPAS	959	Sept. 11-14	47	53
Created	1,004	Sept. 15-19	45.6	54.4
SOM/Environics	1,020	Sept. 19-25	48	52
Léger & Léger	1,006	Sept. 25-28	46.0	53.2
Léger & Léger	1,015	Oct. 1-3	47.2	52.8

\*When Poll numbers reflected after recontacting voters who are undecided or will not state a preference.



Montreal Gazette cartoonist Asim's version of a Quebec separatist (left): No supporter (right): rights of citizenship are a hot button for voters



# BEHIND THE CAMPAIGN

## 1. What's it all about?

This isn't as obvious as it might look at first glance. To federalists inside Quebec, and to the vast majority of Canadians outside the province, it seems clear that the essential issue is summed up in the first eight words of the official referendum question: "Do you agree that Quebec should become sovereign?" Parizeau himself, a committed separatist for more than a quarter of a century, knows no doubt in his heart of hearts that Quebec will become an independent country. But the entire Yes campaign works to convince voters on the rest of the question, 36 words that talk about buying a "new economic and political partnership" with the rest of Canada. Bouchard mentions partnership every time he talks about sovereignty, and Dumont goes so far as to deny that Quebecers are even voting on independence at all—just a new kind of union. The Yes side's publicity attacks sovereignty as well, portraying it as a "Yes to change" and "Yes—and everything but change possible." Then their campaign posters, on last week, feature innocuous symbols like the old peace sign or overly Canadian elements like the loonie.

The reason a clear poll shows that if Quebecers believe they are voting on independence, they will say No by a wide margin. The Yes side's only chance is to convince voters that they are really deciding on a new partnership with Canada, not on taking the province out of the country. What worries federalists is that even after half a century of debating the issue and weeks of intense campaigning, there is still much confusion over what is at stake. Incredibly, one poll last week found that almost a quarter of voters—21 per cent—believe that Quebec would continue to be a province of Canada even if sovereignty is achieved. These are the kind of numbers that keep No supporters up nights.

## Key questions about the 'Neverendum' in Quebec

### 2. Is the referendum campaign much different from an election?

In many ways it is similar: leaders tour the province in campaign buses while the Yes and No sides lead the streets with posters and all the armors suit during meetings. The big difference is that the entire process is based on one common risk, and to every vote counts. In an election, Liberals pile up massive, and wasted, majorities in English-speaking areas like Montreal's West Island. Protesters die the same in their stronghold of Lac St-Jean and both sides concentrate on swing ridings that could go either way. For the referendum, all voters count. So the key for both sides is to make sure that all their supporters get to the ballot box, even those Westerners angling who might well stay home at election time secure in the knowledge that it would take nothing short of a miracle for a Liberal to lose there.

The campaign rules are different, too. Quebec's Referendum Act sets strict limits on spending—just \$1 per registered voter, or about \$4.1 million for each side for all campaign expenses. That compares with about \$1.50 per voter for a provincial election. It is also a shorter campaign: only 30 days, compared with between 33 and 36 days for an election.

### 3. Who can vote?

As in other provinces and federally all citizens at least 18 years old are eligible. But in June, the Parti Québécois government amended the province's voting law to allow exemptions to limited proof of citizenship when they go door to door. Federalists complained that that power might be used to intimidate ethnic voters, who tend overwhelmingly to support federalism. Another while it is still unclear other provinces, Quebec allows people living temporarily outside the province to vote—provided they have been away for less than two years and declare an intention to return. No side expects any have worked hard to persuade expatriate Quebecers to register and vote, on the safe assumption that most of them will oppose any union. By the end of last week, 11,702 had signed up to vote, with

not believe for a moment that it could work. He spent most of his career in the PQ publicly disagreeing with Lévesque's old policy of sovereignty-independence precisely because he felt that it makes no sense for a newly independent country to jump into a new set of cultural and economic institutions with the country it has just left. For Paré, at least, the partnership proposal was quite surely something he had to swallow to get Bouchard and Durocher out of the sovereignist hellfire and ensure the movement from certain death.

**3. Could Quebecers really keep their Canadian citizenship and prospects after independence?**

One of the most incoherent debates is that even most Quebecers who intend to vote Yes remain attached to symbols of Canadian identity. And on symbols is more powerful than the Canadian passport, which is why Conservative Leader Jean Charest pulled his own out of his pocket at the No vote's campaign kickoff only on Sept. 17.

"Are we going to walk into a hotel booth on Oct. 30, and leave our passports with Jacques Paré?" he demanded. Charest grabbed a hot lotion in the debate as one poll last spring, an overwhelming proportion of Quebecers would get over-

said they would want to keep their Canadian passports if the province became independent. That's why the separatists have promised voters that they will be able to keep Canadian citizenship along with their new Quebec identity. Their argument is that Canada has allowed that citizenship since 1977 (about 285,000 Canadians held dual or multiple citizenship in 1991), and any attempt to take it away from the citizens of a sovereign Quebec would lead federalists most deeply into the policy minefield. It's nearly. Under current law, Quebecers could indeed keep Canadian citizenship after independence, but most experts maintain that the political and economic pressure to change the law would be overwhelming. Stanley Hart, once chief of staff to former prime minister Brian Mulroney, argued in a recent paper for the C. D. Howe Institute in Toronto that Canada can afford to have a few hundred thousand dual citizens now, but seven million Quebec-Canada citizens living next door would present an impossible situation. The reason, he wrote, is that while citizens can claim such rights as second-citizens, they bring in the country's nationality laws and assume the other responsibilities of Canadian citizenship. The prospect of millions of Quebecers able to enter Canada at a moment's notice and claim benefits for which they have paid no taxes would be unsustainable. The most likely outcome is that Canada would change its law on dual citizenship, depriving Quebecers of their passport. That it might well give them a grace period of perhaps two years to move to Canada and keep their citizenship—or stay in Quebec and lose it.

**4. How important is Quebec's language divide for the vote?** Very. Polls show that francophones are almost evenly divided on the question of sovereignty. But despite a quarter century of campaigning and cajoling, sovereigntists have made almost no inroads into the anglophone vote. One recent poll found that among the 700,000 of Quebecers whose mother language is English, a scant two per cent intend to vote Yes—downer, no doubt, than believe Ed

Presley is alive. In 2000, there was an active coalition of "Anglophones for the Yes" composed largely of intellectual left-wingers sympathetic to the PQ's social-democratic leanings. Not even they have been heard from in this campaign, largely because the PQ's move to the left and its chameleon record in power during the past 15 years gives little reason for the dwindling band of English-speaking leftists to lend it their support for any cause.

**7. What's a win?**

Officially, of course, 50 per cent plus one vote counts for either side. Most federalists, though, have issued that the country cannot be broken up with a bare majority voting for separation on an unclear question. That is Prime Minister Jean Charest's position, although Reform's Preston Manning has argued that federalists should make it clear to Quebecers that if they do vote Yes by a narrow margin, they are on their way out.

With polls showing the No side building a comfortable lead, however, the more pressing question is what kind of win federalists need to claim a resounding victory. In 1980, the Yes voters won 40.4 per cent of the vote, if they got at least 45 per cent that same autumn, Paré and Co. are sure to claim a "moral victory" and argue that sovereignty continues to gain ground. For federalists, the key is to win a majority of the francophone vote. On the assumption that about 90 per cent of non-francophones vote No, pollsters say that means the Yes vote must win at least 45 per cent overall to claim that moral. Prochac-speaking Quebecers voted for sovereignty if they got that, they will live to fight another day. **It will this vote really settle the issue?**

Of course not—especially if the separationists take that magic 45-percent mark. But not at all, just case they fail significantly below 45 per cent, especially if they fail to match their 1980 result—the blow to the sovereignty movement could be mortal. The lack of enthusiasm for sovereignty among young people, the increasing confidence of francophones that their language is secure and an aging population would make it much harder for separatists to go on.

No matter what the outcome, though, even Quebec federalists will not let the issue rest. Liberal Leader Daniel Johnson cautions English-Canadians to expect his party to press Quebec's so-called traditional demands for more autonomy if he regains power. The difference will be that Quebec's constitutional bargaining power will be further reduced after a second referendum has, ironically, at least, we'd like to hope, demonstrated themselves—who never tire of posing as the infidelistic champions of Quebec—who will have weakened their position as badly.

Will LEF HARTWICK in Montreal

In Sept. 29, I went to see the Quebec artists' concert for the Yes vote at the referendum at the old Manulife Forum. It was like travelling back in time. Michel Rivard and Paul Piché sang a Pierre L'Acadie ballad in front of thousands of people, the crowd cheered when Jacques Paré sang his last appearance on the video screens and 17-year-old girls with hair-dos by painted on their faces waved giant Quebec flags. For a few minutes, I felt the same optimism, the same enthusiasm, the same energy that I felt when I voted Yes 15 years ago in the 1980 referendum on sovereignty-independence.

Audience, ending if I was back in 1995. Back to the grim reality of the referendum rates, high unemployment and the national debt.

In 1980, the referendum campaign touched our hearts and souls. People talked about it in restaurants and bars, families argued about it over dinner. Today, no one seems to care. Last week, at the last of the doctored separatists who paid \$10 to go to the Forum, Quebecers were more interested in discussing the O. J. Simpson verdict than in debating the fate of our nation.

## AN APATHETIC 'YES'

Why this silence? I think there are three main reasons. First, Quebecers are much more cynical about politicians than they were in 1980. Back then, politics was an mythical sport, alongside hockey and basketball, now, if a politician were to live with us, we're not as enthusiastic as we used to be. Nobody believes in paradise any more. Having to choose between the Yes vote and the No vote is like having to choose between a car accident and lion cancer. At the same time, all the charismatic figures are gone. René Lévesque is dead, Pierre Trudon is all concealing, former Parti Québécois minister Claude Michon turned out to be a spy for the RCMP, and Claude Charbon is just another 75 year. We're left with Jean Charest, Daniel Johnson and Jacques Paré. They're all good politicians while listening to Johnson talk about insider payments, or Paré talking about federal cutbacks? Neither here nor there.

Second, the economy replaced culture as the driving force of the independence movement. In 1980, Quebec songwriters and comedians were at the forefront of the battle, now, they're left behind. Paré talks more and more about money and less and less about culture. As the economy changed during the 1980s, so did the strategy of the PQ. In the past 20 years, the independence cause discovered the beauty of three-cultured supporters and the virtue of Quebec Inc. Claude Michon, president of the Cause populaire movement, and Pierre Péladeau, the head of publishing giant Quebecor, replace Gilles Vigneault and Félix Leclerc as our national heroes. Why continue pining with Gens de bien when you can listen to the sweet sound of money? And why spend valuable time protesting to the converted (i.e., artists and intellectuals) when you can trade up with the rich and powerful? But the clear the PQ moved towards the business world, the more it began to resemble other parties. The result is that many party activists lost interest in the cause.

The third reason separatists can't talk much about the referendum



Moving stage at the Forum concert, Martineau (below) "no one seems to care"

BY RICHARD MARTINEAU

## Young Quebecers just want to turn the page



is because the independence leaders themselves are becoming pathetic. In 1970, they wanted Quebec to separate from Canada. In 1980, they wanted to negotiate an economic partnership with the rest of the country before leaving. Now, they want to keep the Canadian currency and even other political institutions with the federal government. Why not stay there?

Nevertheless, on Oct. 30 I will vote Yes, but without passion or enthusiasm. Like many people of my generation, I have heard politicians arguing over the Constitution as long as I can remember. Now, 34 years old and I've had enough. It's time for Quebec to take its own fate into its own hands. Quebecers will never accept the status quo, they'll always try to bargain more power from Ottawa. So why not just leave? Why don't we just turn the page, and go on with our lives? Why stay once, if we're not happy and we don't enjoy the party? If the No side wins at the end of the month, nothing will be solved. We'll have Lucien Bouchard to stay in Ottawa to defend the interests of Quebec and keep Premier Martin from becoming leader of the Opposition. We'll vote for a stronger national government in the next provincial election. And we'll still be talking about the same issues in 2025. Sorry, but I'm not ready to make that sacrifice. I don't want to live the words "constitution" and "constitutional" when I'm 65. I don't want to grow old in a country trapped in a squabbling marriage like Luc Taylor and Richard Baskin in *It's a Wonderful Afternoon*. In 1980, I voted Yes because I wanted to start something new. On Oct. 30, I'll vote Yes because I want to finish something old. Welcome to the Nineties. □

Richard Martineau, 34, a student of the Montreal environment society Nor

# THE LESSONS OF PRAGUE

Sparta Prague was the starbustiest hockey team in the days when the Communists ruled Czechoslovakia, but there was no sign of hunch hockey-style hockey from the collection of fancy skating, adult players who took the ice one night last week against the visiting team from Zlin. At times, even less in the boisterous crowd of 4,800 looked frostbittenly together that the home team, peeling back, headbashed with ease of beer when Sparta fell behind by three goals early in the third period. "Czech crowds can be pretty critical," said assistant coach Steve Kucera with a smile, watching the debacle from the safety of a corporate box.

The players fan might just look like a fire in the belly, but Lezer remembers both the glory and the headaches of the days when, as the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, his nation was an international hockey leviathan. "Oh, there were always problems picking the wrong line," he recalled last week.

"How many Czechs? How many Slovaks? Not only did we have to have one coach from each side, but each side had to have its own doctor, its own trainer." For Canadians who revel in the fiery blowout of their own international hockey feuds, the Czechs, there's a sobering lesson in what followed. "There is no doubt," said Lezer, "that the quality of our hockey has dropped since the split."

The split, Lezer simply calls it. Politicians prefer the more noble-sounding Velvet Divorce in honor of the sanctimonies of the process. By any name, it was the surgical but hardly uneventful division of New Year's Day, 1993, of the 75-year-old experiment in federalism that was Czechoslovakia—a breakup with lessons for Canadians contemplating the end of their own federation. The real smack-up on most of its 10 million Czechs and the million Slovaks, no one on either side, not to note on it. Under that former federal republic in Yugoslavia, or for that a shot, there were some who said and much divided in a matter of weeks by Czech Prime Minister Václav Klaus and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimír Mečiar, neither of whom had even been paged for independence when they were elected in June, 1992.

To this day, there is disagreement about how it all really happened. Steps of unshappiness, mostly from the Slovak side, had been evident in the first months after the Communist collapse. In November, 1991, he fired a shot. There were some who said and much divided in a matter of weeks by Czech Prime Minister Václav Klaus and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimír Mečiar, neither of whom had even been paged for independence when they were elected in June, 1992.

The errors were small, almost almost in nature, but compounded they ended up as serious political mistakes," says Václav Zák, a former diplomat who became spokesman for the Czech side during the early months of the new era. The two sides were most arguing over the powers of the new parliament's upper house, where Czechs ap-



ON ASSIGNMENT  
BRUCE WALLACE  
IN PRAGUE

## Czechs and Slovaks split up without knowing why



The final schism came after the 1992 elections, which returned Klaus and Mečiar. Klaus adheres to a free-market rhetoric that New Gingrich would applaud. Mečiar is a Communist-style strongman who has restored populism and socialism as his mainstay. There are those who still say that Klaus seized on Mečiar's demands for more autonomy to lead the Czechs of the heavily state-subsidized Slovak economy. "The issue is that, despite all the history of ethnic disputes, it was a desire to follow different economic paths that pushed Czechs and Slovaks apart," says former Tory cabinet minister Dávid Jeleník, a Czech Canadian who has returned to Prague to run an international consulting business.

Certainly, the two sides have different political and economic claims, which had only been accentuated in the years between 1988 and 1989. In the 1980s, the Czechs were one of the world's leading industrial powers, and Prague has a long history as a centre of blond thought. Czechs remember the period following the Soviet invasion of 1968 as a time of repression and darkness. But those years were a blow to Slovakia, which was treated much more gently by the hard-line Communist leaders. Moscow was dangled from the Czech lands, as they were then called, to build Slovakia's heavy industry. "We Czechs were shocked to discover after the revolution that those years were looked upon by the Slovaks as a glorious time," says Petr Píhár, who served as the first freely elected Czech prime minister until his defeat by Klaus in 1992. The effects are evident. Slovaks have been far more hesitant to join the new ties to the East and their centrally planned economy.

posed the effective power to veto legislation held by the Slovaks. And in May, 1990, Lubek Václav, a writer with disquieted credentials stretching back to the 1930s Prague Spring, published an article suggesting that the only way to satisfy the Slovak "little brother" was to give him "a house of his own." With that, a loose argument discussing partition was broken.

■ Slovaks were happy to welcome the birth of their new country, their opponents no one had a chance to vote on the country's breakup

The two countries struggled to share a currency. But with such conflicting economic policies, investors just little faith in the joint crown and foreign reserves crumbled. Just 38 days after it was introduced, the Czechs pulled out of the currency union to embark unadorned on their free-market goals. Huge swaths of the Czech economy were privatized, and foreign investors looked in. The differences are obvious. Having escaped the bombs that devastated many of Europe's other great cities, Prague's architecture has survived as a refuge: these park from the conflict's age of greatness. While the communist Slovak capital of Bratislava is only slowly being redeveloped, Prague has become Europe's most popular tourist destination.

The Czechs' relative affluence makes some persistent social problems poorly paid doctors are treated for a national strike this fall, for example. But the general sentiment is that the split from Slovakia has been good for the Czech nation. "We don't talk about it much any more and most people don't feel that we lost anything," said Antonio Bondeiro, tipping espresso in the cafe of his law firm, Eitel Páris in Prague. "It's a pity, because we would eventually have been stronger together. But it has gone too far now. What's done is done." That he has only reinforced as Czechs

watch Mečiar indulge in old-style anti-democratic governing techniques. He is currently engaged in a power struggle with Slovak President Michal Kováč, a tough battle in which Kováč's son was kidnapped, stuffed in the trunk of a car and dumped in a neighboring Austria, where he was wanted on fraud charges. "Czechs regard the state of Slovak politics as a further argument for being right to break away," says Píhár.

Some Czechs still fight the split. Petr Uhl, 64, another former Czech dissident, took out Slovak citizenship to protest the Czech Republic's policy of asking residents choosing not to passport on the other. "Slovakism will allow that citizenship. Uhl traces his roots back to Czechoslovakia to stories his father told him about the bravery of Slovak partisans in the Second World War. The Slovak resistance struggled for the ideal of Czechoslovakism against their own national brethren who had set up a Nazi puppet state. "Our politicians have failed us," says Uhl. "I still say that people are happy now, but nobody ever asks them if it was true to leave the Slovaks behind."

Uhl maintains contacts with some Slovaks, trying to ensure, he says, "that mutual contact in business and culture are not so weakened that they cannot one day be reconnected." (The Slovaks have already named the prospect of rejoining the Czech hockey league.) But former prime minister Píhár only agrees that the two countries have become "permanently divorced." In fact, he agrees, the Czech-Slovak divorce has lessons for Canada. "The politicians who are responsible for dissolution will seek to get more than just 51 per cent of the people to agree to the breakup," he warns. "The problem is not legally, it is emotionally, and that can only be solved by restoring relations with the other side. The politicians have to convince people that what was done was right."

"Canadians won't want to hear that," he continues, "but my advice would be to postpone a final decision. We were too impatient. Yes, it seems unworkable. But it is better than paying the long term price of losing a country." □



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# DUBIOUS CONDUCT

New revelations in the Somalia affair put military leaders on the defensive

Kennard before the defence was distributed destroyed tapes



Airborne facing violence new evidence suggests that senior officers did little to stop the abuse

I started with the brutal murder of a teenage girl in Somalia by soldiers of the Canadian Airborne Regiment from less than two years ago. What followed was a series of investigations, court martial and, ultimately, the dismantling of the Airborne regiment last January after amateur videos showed soldiers using racist slurs and engaging in otherwise heinous rituals. The controversy erupted again last week with new evidence that senior officers in Somalia and Canada knew about abusive conduct by Canadian soldiers but did little to stop it. Canadians also witnessed further evidence of a rift between the country's top military officials, Defence Minister David Collette and chief of defence staff, Gen. John de Chastelain, over de Chastelain's decision to promote an officer whose military police had accused of destroying evidence related to the Somalia affair. "This points directly to a leadership problem," said Nelson party defence critic Jim Flaherty, who spent much of the week calling for Collette's resignation. "Are the generals running the show?"

That is one of a myriad of questions to be addressed by the long-awaited public inquiry into the Somalia affair that opened in Ottawa last week. And it was a military police report, leaked to the inquiry—one of more than 50,000 documents obtained by the three-member commission—that produced some of the most damaging revelations. The report asserts that Col. Peter Kennard—the man who was given the task of whipping the Airborne regiment into shape after a 15-day tour of duty in Somalia in 1995—convinced a council of officers when he ordered the destruction last January of two copies of a videotape of a 1994 heinous ritual, showing soldiers subjecting each other to a heinous ritual. The report says that Kennard feared that the tapes would end up in a courtroom, in the same way that the video of a 1993 heinous ritual was destroyed, leading to Collette's decision to demand the Airborne. The report also states that Kennard initially told investigators that he

was not in possession of any videotapes (he told a subsequent investigation that he simply had not been asked about them). Despite those allegations, de Chastelain promoted Kennard to full colonel in June.

At a news conference last week, de Chastelain released copies of a series of military investigations into Kennard's conduct that he had requested after he learned of the allegations against the officer. According to de Chastelain, those reviews exonerated Kennard. He said military police "inadequately" believed that Kennard had tried to obstruct justice. Instead, de Chastelain accepted Kennard's explanation that he was not trying to destroy evidence because he was aware that authorities already possessed another copy of the tape, and that he was simply getting rid of the extra copies to prevent them from falling into the hands of the news media. Kennard, he concluded, had "made errors of judgment," but had done nothing illegal.

Although he normally does not discuss promotions below the rank of general with Collette, de Chastelain told reporters that he did inform the defence minister about the allegations against Kennard. Collette, he added, expressed reservations, but said the decision was up to him. Concluding that no senior should not derail the career of "an outstanding officer," de Chastelain went ahead with the promotion.

Under fire at the House of Commons last week, Collette ducked most questions about the Somalia affair, saying that he would await the results of the inquiry that he made it clear that he did indeed have reservations about Kennard's promotion. In fact, defence department insiders say that Collette's fears on Kennard seemed after the officer's resignation, and very public support for the Airborne regiment following the defence minister's decision to disband it. Nor was it the first time that Col-

lette had been at odds with his chief of defence staff. In the wake of a video broadcast last January showing, among other things, soldiers rubbing feces on each other, de Chastelain had ordered an investigation. Collette refused to accept the offer, saying he wanted the general to stay until his scheduled retirement date at the end of this year. The next day de Chastelain, who publicly opposed the move to disband the Airborne regiment, sat alone faced as Collette made his announcement. According to Nicholas Stern, a former Airborne captain who now heads the Toronto-based Strategic Analysis Group, the disagreement over Kennard's promotion simply reinforces the need for de Chastelain and many of his senior officers to step aside. "That's what's needed," says Stern, "given the apparent lack of trust between the minister and his senior generals."

The rift between Collette and de Chastelain was just one of several tensions that rocked the military last week. A series of military police reports obtained by CBC news showed that the March 1993, bombing death of 16-year-old Shidane Arone while in the custody of Canadian soldiers was not an isolated incident. According to the reports, three privates, Ernest Doss, at the time commander of the Airborne's home base at Petawawa, Ont., received copies of trophy photos of several Somali citizens, tied up and put on public display, that soldiers had sent home. Angry, Arone overreacted a letter to the

Canadian consul in Somalia, Col. Serge Labbe, saying he was the soldier who would be had if the photos got circulated. Also, police were told of officers ordering a number of photos destroyed, including some depicting Arone's final hours. Officials in Ottawa knew of these reports, but made no effort to pass them on to the defence minister at the time, Jim Campbell. Until the minister in Somalia, his superior viewed Col. Labbe as a stellar officer, but the police reports say that two soldiers, and a senior officer, reported hearing Labbe arguing with a general about the photos. "An issue at the end of the day is to the first one who goes to the end of Somalia."

In another disturbing development, CBC Radio reporter Michael McKeel was called into defence headquarters last week and told that documents he had obtained last year under access-to-information regulations had been reviewed by officials with the intention of the Reform party's Hart to comment that "if the department of national defence is capable of hiding documents to the media, how can Canadians be sure it is not altering evidence to the commission of inquiry (into the Somalia affair)?"

Ironically, it was suggestions of a cover-up that prevented Collette to call the inquiry in the first place. In November 1994, Ottawa-based army doctor Barry Armstrong, who served in Somalia at the time of Arone's death, said that he had proof of an effort to destroy evidence, including photographs, related to the period black shooting in the back of another Somali on March 4, 1993, by Canadian soldiers. Armstrong said that he would only release that information when testifying before an independent commission. In the coming months, Armstrong, among others, will have a chance to do just that. For Canada's beleaguered military leaders, the revelations are to be wrenching.

LIORIE PROCTOR in Ottawa

## THE TROOPS COME HOME

Canadians were nightly proud back in July 1992, when their army's legendary Blue Boats swooped down on Bosnia to secure the Sarajevo airport for United Nations humanitarian aid. Last week, after a three-year tour of duty, Foreign Minister Andre Ouellet told the House of Commons that the 1,200 Canadian troops still serving in Bosnia will be home by mid-November—allowing a battalion that was called home from Croatia a month ago. And despite the UN's repeated disappointments in securing peace and delivering aid in the former Yugoslavia, Ouellet praised the role played by Canadian soldiers. "It was," he said, "a tremendous performance."

The Canadian withdrawal is part of a larger reduction of the multinational force in the troubled region from 30,000 to 22,000 troops. The UN's new force is being replaced by the announcement in Washington last week by U.S. President Bill Clinton that the war-torn nations in the Balkans had agreed to a ceasefire, effective Oct. 10, with peace talks to start on Oct. 25. Ouellet said that Canada may yet be



De Chastelain: defending a promotion

With 51 Canadian soldiers killed and about 85 others taken hostage as so-called human shields during their tour of duty in the Balkans, there is mounting frustration with the government's handling of the UN's task in Bosnia. There is also understandable skepticism about the prospects for peace while hours of the ceasefire announcement, there were reports of Serbian forces making a grab for Bosnian government territory and Croatian troops gathering on the Serbian border. For all that, Canada's foreign affairs minister said that Canadians should take heart in their contribution to the peacekeeping effort. Added Ouellet: "A listening service was rendered to the civilians affected by this war."

L.S. in Ottawa

# Campaigning on the northern frontier

BY MARY NEMETH

**A**ll day, a thick fog had been hanging low over the northern oil town of Norman Wells, blurring the broad expanse of the Mackenzie River Valley. And for a while, Stephen Kakaiwi thought he might get weathered in. But late in the afternoon, the cloud ceiling lifted. And now the Northwest Territories cabinet minister and candidate for the Sahlu constituency in the Oct. 14 territorial election is flying north along the grand Mackenzie River, past mile after mile of spruce and birch forest, toward the small Inuit community at Fort Good Hope, where he was born. There are about 1,000 voters in the constituency spread out in the Sahlu, a constituency of some 98,000 square miles. Most are linked by the Mackenzie—by river barges during the brief summer months and by ice road across the river in winter. But most travel is done by air. And campaigning, at any time of the year, is an exercise in travel logistics, especially since voters tend to expect personal visits from the candidates. "They want to see me," Kakaiwi says of the residents of Fort Good Hope, before his plane touches down on the outskirts of town. "It has been known interested."



Kakaiwi with children Deylin (top), Keeson (bottom)

Kakaiwi is one of a recent 81 candidates running in what will be the last election before the Northwest Territories is divided into two new federal ridings in Nunavut. "Four land" in budkita in the predominantly Inuit eastern Arctic. The new government will face a host of challenges, including the fair distribution of the Northwest Territories' assets and liabilities. At the same time, the diverse people of the western Arctic are looking to develop their own constitution and perhaps a new form of government for their autanated new territory. But those issues must be dealt with against a backdrop of a looming fiscal crisis: the territorial government, which depends on Ottawa for roughly 80 per cent of its operating budget, is projecting a \$100-million deficit by the end of the 1996-1997 fiscal year. A recently passed deficit-reduction bill means that the government will either have to raise rev-

enues somehow or implement difficult spending cuts. "There's a very complex geopolitical mine-sweeper," observes Dennis Hutchinson, a former government leader and MLA for the eastern Arctic riding of Inuvik, who is retiring after 35 years in the Northwest Territories legislature. "I think it's far to say that the territorial government will never face such tough decisions as such a tough climate."

Political matters consider Stephen Kakaiwi a potential government leader (also referred to as premier). But there are few guarantees: the Northwest Territories, with just 65,000 inhabitants, operates under a unique consensus style of government, without a formal prime minister. After an election, MLAs elect the government leader and cabinet members from among themselves. And the leadership this time is sure to be hotly contested

between candidates from east and west. Besides Kakaiwi, other lead-enemy contenders could include Keeson Central MLA John Todd from the eastern Arctic and Dan Mann, MLA for the western Arctic riding of Tuktoyaktuk.

Of course, the leadership question is premature—strong candidates are challenging incumbents throughout the territories. For example, Kakaiwi must face off against George Clary, the premier of the Sahlu constituency, the organization that administers the land claims for the Sahlu Devo and Minto people. The two candidates, both Devo, have different visions of future territorial development. But in the absence of political parties or platforms—and therefore the ability to promote legislative change—local issues and individual candidates' experience tend to dominate the campaign. Part of Kakaiwi's pitch is to tell voters that while he has been serving as a cabinet minister in Yellowknife, in portfolios ranging from justice to aboriginal affairs, he has also worked to improve local water-treatment services and to build health centres and school facilities for his constituents.

In this final campaign, residents on both sides of the east-west divide say they will need strong elected officials to protect their interests. David Aglukark, of Inuvik, a community of 1,200 located 1,300 km east of Yellowknife, is one of six candidates in the Inuvik riding.

The father of Inuvik singer Susan Aglukark and a Protestant minister, David Aglukark was the lead-claim negotiator for the Inuvik riding region during the process that led to the Nunavut agreement. And he points out that everything from oiler space to services and staff positions will have to be established in Nunavut. Inevitably, he adds, some of those resources will have to be allocated in Yellowknife. "Throughout land-claim negotiations, we have been given the feeling that the western side is not going to take this lying down," says Aglukark. "For the next three years, we're going to have to have someone who knows how to negotiate."

Because the last account for about 85 per cent of the voters in the sparsely populated eastern Arctic, the new government of Nunavut will largely reflect Inuit priorities on issues such as language, wildlife management and education. But it may also face fiscal constraints imposed by Ottawa, which is committed to covering the cost associated with the creation of Nunavut. Those costs are considerable: the Nunavut Implementation Commission estimates that it will cost some \$200 million to set up the new government and to train staff over its first 12 years in operation. But at least eastern com-

## A consensus style of government shapes N.W.T. politics

munities have managed to articulate a fairly clear vision of their future. In the west, non-Inuit groups will continue to make up about half of the population and the various aboriginal groups have divergent interests. The Inuvik (the Inuvik of the western Arctic) and the Devo and Minto from the northern part of the western Arctic have settled land claims with the federal government. But claims by native groups in the southern part remain unsettled, even as potential mineral development near Yellowknife are raising the stakes in negotiations.

Going down to Inuvik in Yellowknife, North—one of four ridings in the territorial capital—Roy Erasmus tells me that the Inuvik community is one of his main reasons for entering the race. It is the last, grey day in September and Erasmus is campaigning in Old Town, an eclectic neighborhood near the houseboats and float planes that crowd Yellowknife's Back Bay. One of seven candidates in the riding, Erasmus was born in Inuvik, a Devo community on the north-east tip of Inuvik. He is a lawyer, a Yellowknife Devo Band councillor and brother of former Assembly of First Nations Grand Chief Georges Erasmus. And he is among those who are concerned about what will

happen in the west following division. "I know the leaders up and down the [Mackenzie] valley," he says. "I believe I can help put them together. We need to ensure the east doesn't leave us behind."

Comments in Old Town—many of them young professionals or businessmen—ask about division, but they also want to know about the deficit. Almost every candidate agrees that the budget must be balanced, though people like Erasmus argue that even the education or seniors' benefits must be protected. Finding meaningful cuts, in fact, may prove difficult given that the territory is dealing with serious ongoing social problems, many related to high unemployment and alcohol and drug abuse. Taken together with the complex task of finding fair territories and negotiating aboriginal self-government, "those issues are going to make or break consensus government," says Michael Ballantyne, a longtime Yellowknife North MLA and cabinet minister who is retiring from politics.

Northerners take pride in their system of nonpartisan politics, and the issue of debate in their legislature. "It's very critical," says Ballantyne. "People are generally very reasonable, people will listen." The cabinet, with just eight or 10 seats, must win the support of at least five so-called ordinary MLAs to pass legislation in the house. And so the cabinet must tap what Ballantyne describes as a shifting set of informal alliances—among 16 western and 18 eastern MLAs.



among aboriginal members in the west, among the four MLAs who represent Yellowknife and the 20 who do not. Some of those blocs are rigid, and they are often overruled by individual friendships across alliances. "The good thing," says Bédard, "is that you can't just vote stuff through, you really have to build support. The weakness is that it's sometimes tough to make decisions."

Consensus government may also make it tough to appear decisive. At a recent news hall meeting, Yellowknife's South coasters boycotted Whitford (left) compelled to defend himself against allegations that he is too nice. "I'm not afraid to speak up forcefully," insisted Whitford. "Whereas the northern spirit is very different from the southern model—it isn't necessary to shout the loudest." Some in the audience of about 100 constituents, though, said that they were looking for a candidate who will battle on their behalf—especially at a time when division, government conflicts and ongoing policy of decentralization in the west were expected to lead to the loss of government jobs in Yellowknife.

Concern about jobs also has intensified debate around affirmative action. Several Yellowknife candidates are campaigning to end a 1986 policy that, among other things, gives preference to aboriginals in hiring for the territorial government. (Aboriginals currently hold about 35 per cent of those jobs, but make up more than 60 per cent of the NWT population.) Yellowknife's South candidate Kirby Marshall said that the situation would be better addressed by providing more education and training programs for aboriginal people. He called the implementation of the current policy "racist," adding that it was "creating major divisions between aboriginals and non-aboriginals." Defenders of affirmative action counter that any delays with the program—allegation of unqualified people being hired, for example, or that it has not done enough to boost aboriginal participation—are problems of implementation, not policy. "There are concerns," conceded Whitford, who supports the current policy. "But the system. 'Set it and forget it' is not its intent. And if we throw the program out completely, we'll be doing an injustice."

Anxiety about job losses—especially through decentralization—a very real concern among Yellowknife's residents. But the city, with its office towers, movie theatres and bookstore houses as a world apart from many of the small settlements farther north. "People go to Yellowknife," says South candidate Kikuyu. "They see that the roads are paved and the homes have two gold mines and there is no electricity in the north. They think the government will want a piece of the action." How all the jobs and the programs and the wealth are divided up, of course—not just between Yellowknife and the communities left behind east and west and among the various ethnic groups, but among the 20 MLAs, the 38 MLAs who will be elected next week. It may also steady test the limits of consensus government in Canada's far North. □

## 'A great country'

A veteran northern politician takes her leave

After 16 years in the Northwest Territories legislature, including the past four as government leader, NWT Co-sponsor, SS, is not running in the Oct. 16 federal election. Born in the western Alberta community of Altonville, the daughter of an Irish-Canadian woman and a Norwegian husband, Co-sponsor will instead seek the leadership of the Democratic Reform Party, which is administering the land claim for the Inuvialuit, the last of the western Arctic. She spoke with Maclean's Calgary Bureau Chief Mary Nimmo last week in Yellowknife. *Excerpt.*



Co-sponsor, "people are much more demanding"

Maclean's: Why have you chosen to retire from territorial politics?

Co-sponsor: In the earlier years, I was involved in the negotiation of the landmark land-claim agreement. And for the last four years, there's been quite a significant influx of people from my constituency asking if I would consider going back and working with them on the claim and economic development of that region. Although a lot of people had some ideas on what they wanted to do, they needed a fairly strong advocate.

Maclean's: What are the key changes you've seen in territorial politics in the last 16 years?

Co-sponsor: It's like anywhere else; there's a very significant political change. Constituencies are very good. People know what you're doing. They track you much more. And it's not as if

we're in the past, where you just very little representation and people looked upon you as a much better light. When you're getting represented, people are much more demanding.

Maclean's: What are you happy to have accomplished in government?

Co-sponsor: In my time as a minister or government leader, the [territorial] government has been involved in all the [land] claims that have been settled. You know, the federal government settles a claim—but that's always a shortfall in terms of the resources. And if we were not supportive, the claims would not have been settled.

It also kind of an acceptance at the premises in the last has been significant. There are a lot of decisions taken around that table that affect us in health care, we use Montreal, Winnipeg and Alberta for patients that are referred there. And we get all our consumer goods from these areas and various trade agreements would affect us. I think that, being at the federal-government table, we've been able to increase the awareness of the Northwest Territories as a jurisdiction that's part of Canada.

We're trying to get in while Quebec's trying to get out.

Maclean's: And what do you think of that?

Co-sponsor: I just think it's shortighted on their part to advocate separation. The country was important to the Europeans came. It's a great country. They should really try to build on it rather than tear it apart.

Maclean's: What is the most important issue confronting the next territorial government in the 21 years of its life before the division of the Northwest Territories?

Co-sponsor: I think the key issue as division really is to make sure that the two governments can operate effectively and efficiently and with the resources that are required. If we make two poor business decisions, it's going to be very harmful for those people who are dependent on programs and services



The Mahaffys (left) and the Frenches on CBC's 'never again will we feel happy'

## The evil of Bernardo

Nothing, it is becoming clear, will ever be able to take away the pain. In an extraordinary television interview last week, the parents of murdered teenagers Linda Mahaffy and Krista French spoke candidly, bitterly, and with great emotion about the tragedy that

marked their lives since their daughters were raped, tortured and killed by Paul Bernardo at St. Catharines, Ont., in 1991 and 1992. At times struggling to retain their composure while speaking on the CBC's National Magazine, the four—Bernice and Doug French, together with Deborah and Dan Mahaffy—addressed many issues, from the controversial plea bargains offered by Kiki Hantsika, Bernardo's former sister, to the way graphic videotapes of their daughters' torment were used in evidence. But through it all, there was no escape from the palpable, searing anger that is every parent's worst nightmare: "It's a horrible, aching thought that'll never again be over. It's just perfectly happy," said Dorcas French. "It just won't happen because a very big part of our lives is missing and we can't get it back."

It was the first time that the families have spoken publicly since Bernardo was convicted of first-degree murder on Sept. 1 after a sensational four-month trial in Toronto. The issue of the Oct. 5 interview, which was followed by a similar appearance the next morning on CTV's Canada AM, appeared to be carefully chosen on Oct. 4, the Bernardo case was again in the spotlight as Crown attorneys argued in a St. Catharines courtroom that Bernardo, who has already been sentenced to life in prison with no chance of

parole for 25 years, should be declared a dangerous offender and jailed indefinitely. Assistant Crown attorney Lesley Baldwin told *Maclean's* that, while such applications are unusual, the evidence for the designation in Bernardo's case is very strong. "We believe he is one of the most dangerous criminals in Canadian history," Baldwin said. She also noted that such a finding would likely lead to the need to try Bernardo on 33 other outstanding charges, including 11 rapes in the Toronto south end of Scarborough, two other rapes in the Niagara region and the death of Hantsika's sister, Tamara Bernadette's lawyer, John Rosen and Anthony Bryant, both of Toronto, countered that their client has already been adequately punished for his crimes and that no further punishment should be imposed on him.

But in a bittersweet twist, Rosen also received the court's permission to withdraw from the case. A highly regarded criminal lawyer whose debt over-examination during the trial has been widely criticized with calling much of Bernardo's testimony into question, Rosen said that a dangerous offender application is a complex matter that is likely to go on for weeks and require many hours of preparation. Rosen explained to Justice Patricia LeSage that he wanted out because the Ontario government will not undertake to pay all his bills. LeSage agreed, but reserved judgment on whether the prosecution's des-

person offender application should go ahead.

As the issue of further proceedings in the case comes to the fore, Toronto lawyer Tim Dossan spoke up for the victims' families' wishes. In addition to proposed changes to the law that would bolster the rights of crime victims and their relatives, the Frenches and Mahaffys have an overwhelming need, he said. "They will have no sense of closure," said Dossan, "until they know that no one will ever have access to those tapes again, and that, once the legal proceedings are over, the trial will order that the tapes be destroyed."

The issue remains a highly charged one, even though the matter had long ended. The tapes, made by Bernardo and Hantsika, contain horrific images of the two girls' final, terrorized hours. During the trial, while the jury viewed the tapes repeatedly, spectators in the court were allowed only to hear them but not see their graphic scenes of torture. But both families objected strongly to that restriction, arguing that only the judge, the jury and counsel should be able to see or hear the tapes. If Bernardo seeks parole after serving 25 years, there is a chance that the tapes could be used as evidence again. And if he is found to be a dangerous offender, he would be confined in periodic reviews of his case, which could call for more viewings of the tapes.

Meanwhile, other issues stemming from the sensational case remain to be resolved. Bernardo himself has filed an appeal of his murder conviction based on claims that the trial judge made errors in law. At the same time, many Ontarians are lobbying the government to fund a Mike Harris for an official inquiry into the Hantsika plea bargain. Before the

introduction of the tapes was revealed, she had received a deal under which she received a sentence of only 12 years for manslaughter in exchange for agreeing to testify against her ex-boyfriend. Critics say that the tapes have subsequently shown that her involvement was much heavier sentence. Last week, a group of women from Hamilton and St. Catharines delivered a petition containing more than 100 signatures to the Ontario legislature, asking for a review for the Mahaffy and French families, as for many other Canadians, a final resolution of this most harrowing of cases can hardly come soon enough.

TRUDIE CHISHOLM



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# Canada NOTES



**END OF THE RUN:** Rose Marie Turford, 58 (left), and Joyce Stevens, 51, share a light moment after police arrested them in Toronto, ending nearly five months on the lam. According to police, the pair—dubbed "Tortina and Louisa" after the 1991 movie about two female fugitives—jumped bail in Texas on May 18 and then went on a crime spree across the United States, during which they posed as everything from nuns to prostitutes. Turford, originally from London, Ont., and Stevens, of Houston, are wanted in Texas on five charges of aggravated robbery and kidnapping.

## Blood scandal

Documents submitted to the federal inquiry into Canada's blood supply system showed that an American pharmaceutical company distributed blood products in Canada after it was warned that they could be carrying the AIDS virus. The documents also showed that Armour Pharmaceutical Co., of Pennsylvania, misled the scientist who sold the company that its method of destroying the virus was not working well. The tainted blood-clotting medicine, known as Factorate, went on to infect six British Columbia haemophiliacs—five of those children—with AIDS.

Scientist Alfred Prince told Armour Pharmaceutical in 1985 that its heat-treating process did not always kill the AIDS virus in Factorate. But according to documents filed at the inquiry, the company used a confidentiality provision in Prince's contract to order him not to publish his findings. The company continued to sell Factorate in the Canadian market until 1987. Armour's products were licensed by the

Bureau of Biologics, which regulated Canada's blood supply, and distributed by the Red Cross. Documents show that Armour failed to warn haemophiliacs, whose lives depended on the blood-clotting agents, and kept its research findings from the Red Cross.

## Abortion politics

Doctors in Alberta handed the explosive issue of access to publicly funded abortions back to the provincial government. Last month, the governing Conservative caucus said that it would only fund abortion procedures deemed medically necessary and asked the Alberta College of Physicians and Surgeons to help come up with a definition. But the college's 28 council members voted unanimously against changing guidelines, adopted in 1981, which say the decision to proceed with an abortion during the first 30 weeks of pregnancy is between a woman and her doctor. Some council members were angry that they had been dragged into the debate. "I feel strongly that we not be used as a whipping boy," said Dr. William Blaney

## BIKER VIOLENCE

The bloody turf war over Montreal's lucrative drug trade claimed its 25th victim in the past year when Jean-François Madieu, 25, was shot outside his home. Police claimed the man was a drug dealer and a member of a biker gang affiliated with the Hells' Angels, which is locked in a violent struggle with a rival biker gang, the Rock Machine. Three days earlier, a powerful bomb exploded outside a Rock Machine clubhouse. The blast could be heard 15 km away.

## ONTARIO CUTBACKS

Ontario's Conservative government released details of \$772 million in spending cuts affecting about 400 programs in every area of government, including policing, race relations and health care. Earlier, the Tories had announced other cost-cutting measures, including shutting down halfway houses for inmates and transition homes for battered women and their children. On Friday, protesters upset with the latest wave of cuts joined and picketed Premier Mike Harris with eggs at an Oktoberfest celebration in Kitchener.

## A MIXED VERDICT

A Newfoundland Supreme Court jury acquitted radical environmentalist Paul Watson of two charges of endangering the lives of crews of two vessels, including his own, during a 1993 high-seas protest against overfishing off Newfoundland. The Crown had charged that Watson's vessel, *Chesapeake*, deliberately sideswiped a Cuban vessel as it legally cast nets for codfish.

## LAND CLAIM SETBACK

The Alberta government withdrew a seven-year-old land offer to the Lubicon Lake Indian band in the wake of an exodus of band members seeking their own deals. The 1986 pact, which provided the band with a reserve encompassing 248 square km in northern Alberta, was halted at the time as a historic agreement that would end decades of grievances that it never went ahead because Ottawa would not agree to go along with it.

## ASSMAN'S VIP VISITOR

While in Saskatchewan for meetings with the provincial government, the United States ambassador to Canada, James Assman, paid a visit to Dick Assman, the Regina gas jockey whose talk show host David Letterman has made famous. "He's an international celebrity, so we stopped in and said hi," said the ambassador after polling into Assman's Petro-Canada station in Regina.

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# BEYOND THE VERDICT

BY NOMI MORRIS

## O. J. Simpson is free but a debate rages about his acquittal

For a few suspenseful seconds last week, tens of millions of hearts beat a little faster across North America. Maintenance workers jammed in the doorways of crowded offices to catch a glimpse of the television screen. In shopfronts, electronics stores, restaurants and streets stood next to curious senses, all eyes riveted to the flickering monitors. Los Angeles bled on beautiful extra TVs so they wouldn't lose business. President Bill Clinton interrupted his study of budget legislation to watch live coverage. In New York City, there was a noticeable surge in electricity as residents switched on an estimated 700,000 sets around 1 p.m. local time. Across the world, millions more tuned in to hear a Los Angeles jury announce its verdict in double murder case number 6686721.

Slowly, methodically, court clerk Denise Robertson read out the judgment: O. J. Simpson, 40-year-old, advertising salesman and now the media-made colossus of a deeply troubled America, was "not guilty" of brutally stabbing his former wife Nicole Brown Simpson and her friend Ronald Goldman. As the defendant broke into a relieved grin, some commentators conjectured the moment to the infamy where seven-year-old power of the 1963 murder of John Kennedy or the 1986 explosion of the space shuttle Challenger. Suddenly, people of all backgrounds had an emotional stake in the matter of Orenthal James Simpson. But how they per-

ceived the outcome: closed deeply along America's racial fissures. "I was stunned—I felt totally empty inside," said Tina Berry, a white housekeeper in the upscale L.A. neighborhood of Belvedere Park who had watched the trial coverage daily. Blacks across the country, meanwhile, registered what for many was a long-awaited vindication of their complaints of chronic police bias. "People may say it shouldn't be this way," said John Mack, president of the Urban League of Los Angeles. "But for the people of South Central Los Angeles, who live with a double standard of justice, this is a good day."

Whether it was the presence of television or the status of Simpson as the most famous American ever to be charged with murder, the trial became a prism through which people saw each other. Beyond black and white, it pitted men against women, rich against poor. Caucasians distinguished themselves from Americans. Hostilities resurfaced between American Jews and blacks.

In the end, there were two realities: what happened in the court and what happened in the court of public opinion. The Los Angeles jury was unanimous. The evidence presented to them, several members said, was simply not conclusive enough to convict Simpson beyond a reasonable doubt. But the jury of viewers was far from unified. Polls showed half of Americans disagreed with the verdict. Among whites, 70 per cent believed Simpson committed the crimes and 56 per cent would not have let him off. Yet, 74

per cent of blacks believed Simpson was not guilty and 83 per cent agreed with the jury's decision. That the nine blacks, two whites and one Hispanic on the jury took less than four hours to arrive at their verdict was described by legal commentator Roger Cossack as "an insult" to both sides. "I'm not a psychologist," said L.A. district attorney Gil Garcetti, in trying to explain how the jury could have rejected what he called "overwhelming evidence" against Simpson.

There was an shortage of psychologists, lawyers and other experts anxious to analyze a trial that was called a circus and a zoo from the moment helicopter TV crews followed Simpson's white Ford Bronco through the streets of Los Angeles before he arrived in June, 1994. After the verdict was announced, the media feast proceeded in ghastly, if completely overshadowed, the Oct. 3 conviction of Silvio Oscar Abail Rahman and nine militant Muslims for conspiring to bomb the United Nations and carry out several other murderous plots. That New York case was the largest terror trial in U.S. history, stemming from the 1963 World Trade Center bombing that killed six people and wounded hundreds.

But, people were clearly more interested in hearing Simpson, juror Gina Koberg, a 28-year-old black postal worker, tell his story back. Oprah Winfrey, who O.J. had committed murder there would have been more blood in his Bronco "than just this little speck that we saw." Another black juror, Brenda Morris, 42, held a news conference on the lap of a Beverly Hills parking garage because 100 reporters could not fit into her lawyer's office. "In plain English, the gloves didn't fit," she said, echoing defense lawyer Johnnie Cochran's closing refrain, "If it doesn't fit, you must acquit." Needless to say, the catchphrase is now a popular California T-shirt slogan.

In Washington, political leaders seemed keen to stay out of the fray. Attorney General Janet Reno cautioned against reforming the free-born, tried jury system. Clinton and rival candidates for the 1996 presidential race mouthed platitudes about democracy. But in a room filled with bizarre turns, there were some post-verdict surprises. Defense lawyer F. Lee Bailey claimed that his colleague Robert Shapiro had at one point considered a manslaughter plea bargain for Simpson. That was just one of the bombshells that, in so true, reduced the once-vaunted Dennis T. Cooney attorney to backing away from Shapiro. Shapiro denied the claim and looked on at both Bailey and Cochran for using race as their main strategy. Cochran responded that Shapiro was a "sack little puppy".

It was not long before O.J. himself spoke out,



**'Fortunately for me, the jury listened to what the witnesses said'**

O. J. Simpson

Listening to the verdict: a deeply troubled America



**'I deeply believe this country lost today. Justice was not served.'**

Paul Goldstein, father of murder victim Ron Goldstein

Kim Goldstein mourns her brother at his grave: who was the killer?

firmly by calling to his CNN's *Larry King Live* show while Cochran appeared. Though he was careful not to say on long enough to burn his chances for an eminently lucrative pay per view TV interview. Simpson, apologetic but frustrated with the whole television trial process. "Throughout this case it has been an unprecedented time—and time again. People come here from all over and they hear the pundits elaborating on their misrepresentations," he said. "Fortunately for me, the jury listened to what the witnesses said and not [prosecutor] Marcia Clark or anyone else's rendition of what they said."

That may sum up what actually happened in the isolated jury room. When the jurors began to speak publicly, they counted that hush in the prosecution's case made the difference, not race or Cochran's impassioned summation imploring them to send a message to misguided police forces. Said juror Laurel Cryer of the prosecution's evidence: "It was garbage in and garbage out." Cryer, 46, who shucked some colorbars by going Simpson a raised fist salute before leaving the court, added that the most credible witness to the jury was forensic pathologist Dr. Henry Lee, killed as the country's top prosecutor is his father. Lee had said on the stand: "Something is wrong here. Something is seriously wrong."

The defense had pointed away at its contention that L.A. police ignored evidence either to the prosecution or to believe about work. With no eyewitnesses and no murder weapons, the prosecution relied on circumstantial evidence and failed to prove—to its 12 juror at least—guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. The lack of credibility of key witnesses did not help. Gaining after the televised beating of black motorist Rodney King by white police officers, the perjury and racism of former detective Mark Fuhrman further tarred the reputations of the Los Angeles Police Department. The federal justice department is already investigating allegations of police misconduct raised at the Simpson trial.

Despite juror Mann's proclamation that Fuhrman rated "barely a B" on his radar—the jury only heard two of his 41 taped



**Celebrating in Los Angeles for blacks, a long-awaited vindication of their complaints of chronic police bias**

most epithets—they were what resonated in the court of public opinion. "I agree with Cochran that he had a responsibility to follow up on the race card," says L.A. lawyer Brenda Shackley. "It's so rare that this system works on behalf of a black person that people don't know how to react."

The money card may have been more decisive. Simpson's legal bill is expected to reach \$13 million. More than \$2 million of that went to a jury consultant, three DNA specialists and two full-time investigators, who helped pore out the superlatives in crucial pieces of evidence. On the stand, defense witnesses were able to

make plausible what at the outset seemed preposterous: that police officers including Fuhrman planted bloody socks in Simpson's bedroom and a bloody glove inside his house, and smeared blood around his car. The defense's success in discrediting the prosecution was called moments of evidence: double-knuckled the bloody sock. "This was not a close case," said district attorney Garetto. "I didn't just fall off the back end of a dump truck. This is not how most cases are handled. Jurors do the right thing most of the time."

Among those questioned that the jurors did the wrong thing were many abused women and the professionals who work with them. Shakers for battered women around the United States immediately reported frantic calls from people who feared Simpson's acquittal was a green light for wife beating with impunity. "We believe that domestic abuse had everything to do with it," says Cathy Friedman, the associate director of the L.A. Commission on Assaults Against Women. "Whether Simpson was convicted or not, he is a batterer. We are concerned that people might lose sight of the fact that battering can be a deadly affair." In fact, photos of Nicole Simpson's bruised face and a tape of a 911 call of her crying for help as Simpson threatened her seemed critical at the trial's outset. But, by last week, that element had been superseded by the Fuhrman fiasco and its latest side issue, a confrontation between Jews and blacks sparked by defense lawyer Cochran's closing remarks.

Cochran called Fuhrman a "genocidal racist" and compared him to Hitler, a characterization that Jewish leaders condemned as a trivialization of the Nazi Holocaust and its murder of six million European Jews. Ronald Goldman's father Fred, who is Jewish, looked up at Cochran's courtroom rhetoric and his use of bodyguards from the black nationalist group Nation of Islam, which many Jews view as anti-Semitic. Simpson's family, in turn, verbally attacked Goldman, who was suggested outside the court by dining members of the militant Jewish Defense League. By the night the verdict was read, which happened to be the eve of the Jewish

## TRIAL AND TRIBULATIONS

For O. J. Simpson, the future likely offers even greater fame and fortune in a nation that rewards notoriety lavishly. For some of the law-averse protagonists he left behind, the future is far less promising.



Thirty years ago, **Johnnie Cochran** represented the wife of a young black man slain by police after a well-publicized high-speed chase. His star has been rising ever since and so has his income, which he spends on fancy cars and designer clothes. He will probably write a book and be the headline in representing some

of the victims of the Oklahoma City bombing. **Marcia Clark** ostentatiously the loser, has hired the **William Morris Agency** to handle her personal appearances—and a book deal. She has reduced anxiety about her clothes, her voice and her hair do. Clark says she aims for her life at a cruise and from she may not stay in the O.J. orbit.

An unhappy man, **Christopher Barden** is a black prosecutor in a country where blacks often perceive justice as white oppression. His exchanges with Cochran were frequent, often and sometimes personal. Described by friends as an idealist, Barden says he may take a year off because "I feel like my life isn't worth it plugged nickel" and has hinted that he may quit as deputy district attorney—which he once described as a "stress job."



For Los Angeles district attorney **Gil Garcetti**, the Simpson verdict is the latest defeat in a series of high-profile cases, including the acquittal of two young black men in the beating of **Reginald Denny**, and of four white police officers in the **Rodney King** beating. After Simpson was freed, Garcetti's comments deploring domestic abuse were more than awkward: he faced re-election in five months.

**Judge Lance** he bent over backwards to accommodate both sides and now a being criticized for not running a tight ship—which could hurt his chance of promotion to a higher court. **Garcetti** in the publishing industry say that any book by he could earn him as much as \$5 million. However, there are limits on what a judge can write about.



Unlike others in the past, **Mark Fuhrman** is not likely to get any invitations to "mean." Because the former detective boasted of being prone to "rush" and fabricating charges against blacks, the U.S. justice department is investigating the L.A. He has been living in San Diego, Idaho, since he resigned in August



**Kete Kevlin**, Simpson's blond and leonard house guest, an aspiring actor with a string of tepid credits, gleefully relishes the rumors of talk shows and sitcoms. He, too, is working on a book. He publicist says the book is a photo-essay about his first days and the events of the last 18 months.



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WORLD



Simpson's daughter Annelise (left) and sister Carmelita after the verdict: less shock

day of atonement. Yoni Ruyter, there was a sense that the Jewish community had adopted Ronald Goldman as an emblem, much as battered women had done with Nicole Simpson and the black community with O.J. In one Toronto synagogue,

and in Vancouver's "L'esperance" synagogue, members of the Jewish community, rarely agree. "What the O.J. Simpson trial has done is bring it all to the forehand. It has shown that we're not close to racial harmony. We're not close in the United States and we're not close in Canada."

coverage. Shocking footage was heard in the Canadian courtroom, but never broadcast live outside "You didn't have the lawyers arguing to the media in the Bernardo case," says Bruce Thorne, president of the Criminal Lawyers Association of Ontario. "The Simpson trial probably set back by 10 years or so the position of those people who want television in the courtroom."

Despite their differing legal system and multicultural history, Canadians were not immune to the frenzy that engulfed America last week. At midday Toronto's Sports Cafe, most tables embraced while blacks shouted for joy and high fives across their tables when the verdict was announced. The city's police had banned for most in black neighborhoods, just as they had in Los Angeles.

To Larry Berg, a consultant and former University of Southern California political scientist, the lessons of the trial went well beyond America. "It is time for us to understand that racial division is the No. 1 problem facing not only the United States but most of the world—in Europe and, I'm sorry to say, in Canada. You have had trouble in Montreal, in Toronto

### THE O.J. FILE

- Length of proceedings: 372 days
- Juries sequestered: 250 days
- Cost to taxpayers: \$12 million
- Estimated cost to O.J. Simpson: \$13 million
- Robert Shapiro's paycheck: \$7 million
- Jennifer Cochran's paycheck: \$660,000
- Each juror's paycheck: \$1,770
- Accredited media: more than 1,000
- Estimated U.S. TV audience for verdict: 110 million
- Civil claims for ad spots around verdict: \$35,000, a 20% premium
- O.J. Simpson's projected savings from a pay-per-view TV appearance: \$100 million

and in Vancouver."

The trial has produced some positive action. Across the continent, committees have been struck on law enforcement and on race relations. The Brown family has set up a fund in Nicole's name to help protect battered women. (Last week, they were still quailing over whether to fight Simpson for custody of the couple's two children.) But politicians like Jack McDermott, a Democratic congressman from the state of Washington and also a psychiatrist, question how much more justice there will be. "The American public and the political mind doesn't stick to anything very long. The O.J. case has been the event du jour for some months or so. There

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will be a lot of crazy ideas about changing the ways trials are conducted and so on. But the main body of political thought will have been lost."

Maybe so, but the O.J. saga is by no means over. Already, the brother of Simpson's current girlfriend, Paula Barbieri, has landed—in Oklahoma, culturally—first his sister and O.J. may marry within six months. Simpson now has three civil lawsuits, from the Brown family, the Goldmans' family and Ronald Goldman's mother, Sharon Rado, claiming damages for wrongful death. In civil suits, the burden of proof is much less than in criminal cases. This means that the defense must actively show why the allegations are not true—and that Simpson will almost surely have to take the stand and face some compromise.

With further expensive proceedings looming, Simpson has applied to copyright his name and image to cash in on his celebrity. The live pay-per-view show, which might involve an interviewer and live phone calls from around the world, could earn him \$300 million, industry watchers say. Simpson has already made more than \$1 billion on his book *I Want to Tell You*—one of scores on the list published and in the works. Celebrity careers have been made by the trial. Lawyer Consoick and colleague Greg Van Santen were given their own live show on CNN after their daily commentaries on the case helped boost ratings. Simpson

homogeneous, monoglossically waxes. Karl in a new, ruff, host, constantly rubbed in antipodes. Ears Sargent's gold, caddy in working on a book. For Q.L. have ever, simply cutting in will not restore his former stature. He proffed and thrusts from his mugs, any lawyer Shoddy. That is one. Do I think he will be called upon to come and speak at commencement? No.

Nature's soil has its perils, though. LA County prison set Sargent free in about five minutes, although the process usually takes four hours. Then, in advance through the criminal court for consideration of the case, it begins—only this morning was a winter police on cars pulled, through the

Apple's following line, too, was a host of unanswered questions. If not O.J., who did kill Nicole Simpson and Ronald Goldman? Simpson himself vowed to dedicate the rest of his life to finding the killer, a pledge that brought harrumphing from his detractors. And why, ultimately, did people care so much about this trial? Beyond the second-string celebrity at the helm of it, the case seemed to sustain the most primal and unpractical elements in society—sex, violence, race—even as its TV images expanded the electronic village. To worry, the verdict seemed an echo of life in that village, where "not much" does not always mean innocent.

With ANNE GREGG in Los Angeles,  
CARL MULLINS in Washington and  
TOM FENWELL in Toronto.

REV BOB LEVIN

*The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line*

—Black, noted W. E. B. Du Bois, in 1900

**S**earching for deeper meanings in the O. J. Simpson case is like seeking spiritual enlightenment at the Super Bowl. There was extraordinary hype, no end of pageantry, frenzied cheering from both sides. One team won and the other lost. And it all seemed—what?

Three crucial lessons, of course. If you're going to prosecute an alleged liar, it's best to go in with the cops. If you're going to prosecute a black, it's best to keep your investigation police detective off the streets. And, if you're the defendant, it's best to have many, lots of, to buy the kind of anyone who can expose and exploit the state's bungling. "O J. Simpson walked out of jail not because he is black but because he's a multiethnic kindred," says Tony Brown, a Public Broadcasting Service commentator and the author of *Black & Blue*. "He took our nation by storm. It's not that he was black, but that you still wouldn't have had enough criticism of the American justice system if it weren't for him."

True enough, and yet there is no escaping race in the Simpson case. Because this was after all the trial of a black accused of murdering two whites, because Mark Fuhrman gave the defense an opening and Johnson Cochran burnt through it clear to the relevance. Because paths showed a stark, 46-point gap between whites and blacks on Simpson's guilt or innocence. And because the problems of 20th-century America—120 years after the Reconstruction Proclamation, three decades after landmark civil rights legislation—is that the color line. Dr. Brown, an African-American, puts it, "America: what you start out doing is America."

An exaggeration? Maybe. Certainly white America believes the bad old days of discrim-

# The real America, in black and white

*Ten O.J. jurors were women and presumably sympathetic to a battered wife, but race apparently topped gender as a point of personal identity*

Wha's the problem? In fact, the problem, as the increasingly conservative American people and their politicians see it, is now racism discrimination against whites, economists

an and to affirmative action. With this, critics of the subtitle of these last issues, too, is met. It is a controversial new book, *Discs of Freedom* (right-wing thinker) David O'Shea writes, "is not a radical but 'destructive and pathologizing cultural gateway of behavior'" O'Shea says burns in India, being a "horror of color." He contends, gives him "ethnic immaturity" to see such things. Liberal blacks say he's got a post-racialist who doesn't get it.

One of the best of the new books is by a black and a jury ultimately composed of the African-Americans, two whites and an Hispanic. There is no such thing is a wholly objective jury any more than there is a wholly objective journalist. People are not defined solely by their work. They are the sum of their experiences and their 10.5 billion years of history and presumably experience to a better known Bruce Brown Simpson, their life some

cations apparently raised race over gender as a point of personal identity. And while police officers' experiences told them, about black's Look at Philadelphia, where the renegade of floors have been charged with planting drugs in frame African-Americans. Or Los Angeles where four white cops were caught on video mercilessly beating black motorist Rodney King four years ago—only to be acquitted by a mostly white jury. And don't whites seem so proudly eager to bring down successful black people like Mike Tyson and Michael Jackson?

The irony, of course, is that O.J. Simpson—a poor kid from the San Francisco projects—was determined to keep from becoming the excluded black criminal and, after his first marriage, black woman. He climbed the black ladder from his speech, making his post-football living as an announcer and spokesman. "Herb told me in all their surveys that I was colored," he said in 1992. He was no longer colorless three years later, when he and Cochran not only played the race card but, in the opinion of disgruntled fellow Democrat Senator Robert D'Amico, "died from the business of the death."

The race question is increasingly complex, cutting many ways at once. In recent weeks, for instance, Simpson has shared the front pages with another black man, another black American success story, Colin Powell. Powell, a decorated war hero, was named Time magazine's man of the year in 1996. And race is working in his favor—does anyone seriously believe that this retired general, handling his manners and exuding confidence and good politics, would have been a fringe minority candidate? The answer is that he would have been. But it is true that he is not the worst black man in America on the only issue that matters to the majority of Americans: Who could give Clinton the edge in the confirmed Communist-buster war, which is labeled against any hint of trading pinkie. Some Republicans—from the traditionally white right to the more liberal, but still white, center—think that only they can give Americans the direct black president land, in the process, forever shaming themselves from the alibis and arrows of racial accusation. But what if Powell were not a black man? Would the race card—last year's election, this year's election—still play his race? The question is not whether

The long-term effect of the Sarason verdict was just as steady. Clarence Taylor, associate professor of African-American history at Lehman College in Queens, N.Y., says that the Sarason case "has become a teaching tool for the study of racism and is prompting reverse discrimination." "We need to see 'Look, O.J. does not indicate who's going on in the criminal justice system. The vast majority of blacks cannot afford a defense lawyer," says Taylor. "It's also worth noting that 'not guilty' was the conclusion of the jury. The Sarason case is a warning that perhaps the world's most powerful impact was self-evident across America in the instance it was announced, on the scummed faces of whites watching cheering blacks. Many blacks have little faith in the system. They are angry and suspicious. And for that reason, the Sarason verdict, the majority opinion, the ruling itself, the fact of their own conviction of guilty or not—the system."



You either have it

or you don't

## TRAGEDY IN THE AIR

Nine Canadians were among 15 people presumed dead after a helicopter crashed into a mountain in Kyrgyzstan, a former Soviet republic. The victims were flying to the capital city of Bishkek from a gold mine being developed by the local government and British on-based Canaco Corp. Company officials said the pilot was flying through snow and fog when the craft slammed into the face of a cliff.

## A CULTIST COMESSES

Domestic cult leader Shoko Asahara, whose followers earlier this year missed person gas in Tokyo's subway system, confessed to the transit attacks and other crimes. Twelve people died and 5,000 became ill after the incidents. Asahara assisted police escorted him into a confession by threatening to outlaw his 10,000-member Aum Shinrikyo (Supreme Truth) cult. Later, a man fired shots outside the Aum headquarters amid a crowd of 1,000 gathered for the arrest of popular Aum spokesman Masamiro Jyo.

## LEESON'S EXTRADITION

A German court ordered Nick Leeson, the futures trader who caused the collapse of the 252-year-old British bank Barings, extradited to Singapore, where he is charged with 11 offenses, including fraud, forgery and breach of trust. Leeson had wanted to be extradited to Britain rather than face justice in Singapore, but British authorities declined to pursue him. The topmost city-state, concerned about its image as a regional financial center, is expected to mount a vigorous prosecution. Leeson, 38, could get up to 14 years in prison.

## WARNING TO CUBA

President Bill Clinton announced that U.S. news organizations will be allowed to set up bureaus in Cuba as part of an effort to improve American-Cuban dialogue. Academic exchanges will also begin between the two countries, which have no diplomatic relations. But Clinton made no move to lift the long-standing U.S. economic embargo.

## FLU-SHOT ADVICE

Minnesota researchers have recommended that all adults get a routine flu shot, after a study showed a 25-percent lower rate of influenza among those who got the vaccine. The randomized group took fewer days off and made fewer visits to a doctor, representing a potential saving to firms who bring in a vaccinee to work. Previously, shots were recommended mainly for the elderly and the chronically ill.

# World NOTES



John Paul II bids farewell to the New York crowd: criticism for Congress

## A papal visit makes spirits soar

Church bells pealed, a highway was closed and 2,000 cheering schoolchildren lined the airport tarmac in Newark, N.J., to welcome Pope John Paul II on his fourth visit to the United States. The 72-year-old pontiff, who has made 65 trips to 112 countries, met with President Bill Clinton on arrival and addressed the UN General Assembly the next day. In his speech, the Pope called on the nations of the world to show racial leadership. He said man is approaching the end of the 20th century "fearful of himself, fearful of what he might be capable of, fearful of the future."

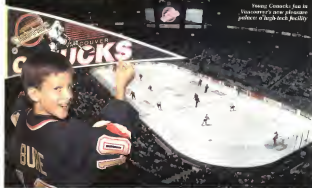
Later the pontiff spoke out on behalf of immigrants and the poor, challenging America to remain a "hospitable society, a welcoming culture." He told of 60,000 people in Ghazal Stadium in New Jersey, he said: "In present-day America becoming less sensitive, less caring towards the poor, the weak, the stranger, the needy? It must not." The remarks were viewed as a direct attack on a lecture by the Republican-dominated Congress to restrict immigration and cut welfare programs.

The pontiff's key aim, though, was to renew loyalty to the church in a country where

his traditional views are not widely shared by Catholics. John Paul again defended the "nuclear club" and used the five-day trip to reach most of the cardinal and bishops in the American church as well as millions of lay Catholics. "You are called to build up the church in faith, hope and love," he told them. His drawing power remained unquestioned: another 80,000 people gathered to hear his deliver mass at New York City's Aqueduct Race Track.

## Season of storm

With sustained winds of 200 km/h, Hurricane Opal struck the Florida peninsula, disrupting weather patterns as far away as northern Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes. Opal, the third hurricane to hit Florida this year, was blamed for the deaths of 10 people in Mexico and that of an elderly resident of Crestview, Fla. As the storm moved across the Gulf of Mexico, thousands of people in coastal communities in Florida and Alabama struggled to Dec., producing massive traffic jams. The hurricane caused flooding, power outages and more than \$3 billion in property damage.



Young Griffiths, fan in Vancouver's new pleasure palace of high-tech hockey

## BUSINESS

# THE VALUE OF TEAMWORK

## Debt forces a scion to share power

BY CHRIS WOOD

The remark went all but unnoticed until the chest pitting at last month's gala reception to mark the opening of Vancouver's newest entertainment, the \$160-million General Motors Place arena. Champagne flowed, and smoked salmon and lobster couples used for the attention of each West Coast haremster as B.C. Promoter Michael Horowitz and Pat Quinn, president of the Vancouver Canucks hockey franchise—which, along with the new Griffites NHA basketball club, will be a prime tenant of the arena, that the event's

undisputed star was his host, Arthur Griffiths, the 38-year-old younger son of broadcaster (son) Frank Griffiths Sr., who died in April, 1994. A short, imperiously poised figure in a dark charcoal suit, Arthur Griffiths was the principal architect of the deal to build the dazzling new arena. Not only to build it, but to ensure its status as, in Griffiths' own words, "the first properly financed stadium in Canada in nearly 60 years." Oddly, though, Griffiths proudly stressed that, from a personal standpoint, the extraordinary achievement had also costed "a little loss of stature along the way."

Speaking later to Maclean's, Griffiths in-

vested that he had meant only to acknowledge his wife, Joanne, and his two sons, who "frustrated me I am still a husband and a father." But it was tangling to read more into the remark. Thus, Griffiths has parlayed the once-luxurious hockey franchise that he inherited from his father into the country's most quiet pleasure palace, a sell-the-crown jewel of an ambitious new entertainment empire. But along the way, the younger Griffiths was obliged to cede his family's custody stake in the enterprise to an outsider. After injecting an undisclosed amount of cash into the project last March, Seattle billionaire John McCaw emerged as the largest shareholder, with an estimated stake—never officially confirmed, but not denied by either family—of 60 per cent.

For the Griffiths clan, the sale to McCaw was not the only setback this year. Until recently, brother Frank Jr., 41, seemed destined to take his father's place at the helm of the family's most valuable holding, Vancouver-based WIC Western International Communications Ltd. With WIC's radio, television and 12 media stations, together with other assets, are valued at more than \$700 million, the company's annual revenues exceed \$300 million. But, in July, as part of an ongoing rivalry with Edmonton's Allied family for control of the company, Frank Jr. relinquished the WIC chairmanship, a post he had shared with an Allied nominee, Meiswinkel, the latest in a convoluted series of legal actions involving the Griffiths and Allied families is scheduled to return to the B.C. Supreme Court in December.

For all the acrimonious brawling over Griffiths Jr.'s legacy, there can be no quibbling with the confidence of the upspring-

new arena that his younger son has placed at the eastern edge of downtown Vancouver. With an \$18,000 seats for 20,000 for basketball and as many as 22,000 for concerts, the arena is a dazzling showcase of technology. The facility's floor concessions run from sushi to gourmet hot dogs; some, fans in many of the price sectors will be able to place orders without leaving their seats, using computer keypads. As well, 30,000 cables link 38 camera locations inside the arena to satellite dishes on the roof. As for Griffiths' bally? "I'm not aware of any arena in the world that can suit this place."

For sure, however, the state-of-the-art facilities come with state-of-the-art prices. Twenty-eight corporate boxes, fully subscribed for as much as \$170,000 a year, and 3,200 premium-price "club seats" cater to the wealthy at up to \$2,000 per season. And even those in the cheap seats—\$25 for hockey games—can expect to part with \$2.50 for a soft drink. But

as predicted 40-million occasions in the first year, tickets are company spokesman.

Orca Bay's strategy relies on common ownership of the shiny new arena and its other tenants, the Canucks and Griffites. But pursuing that dream ultimately cost Griffiths control over the venture. Initially, he recalls, "the franchise was geared against the 'hockey' for the new arena, that it soon became evident that the hockey team's revenues were insufficient to support the building, in fact, the team lost money over the subsequent two seasons. At the same time, Griffiths knew that the risk considered Vancouver a promising market for expansion. The younger Griffiths saw that as an opportunity to add a third leg to his existing platform for arena and hockey revenues. In late 1993, he approached McCaw—a longtime friend whose family sold its cellular phone business

Even so, Griffiths' parents agreed to support a new arena that he believed North-

west's key assets, the hockey club and the

theater. Griffiths' parents agreed to support a new arena that he believed North-

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## GRIFFITHS FAMILY HOLDINGS

■ Western International Communications Ltd., Vancouver.

Frank Griffiths Jr. controls 92% of voting shares, 7% of total equity.

BCTV (Vancouver), QCH (Hemlock, B.V. (Edmonton), CHMI Radio (Vancouver), CHED Radio (Edmonton), CHMI Radio (Hemlock), CHET Radio (Toronto), 50% of The Family Channel, 52% of Canadian Satellite Communications Inc.

■ Orca Bay Sports and Entertainment, Vancouver.

Arthur Griffiths controls 46% (part). General Motors Place, NHA's Vancouver Griffites, 57% of NHA's Vancouver Canucks.

debt, facing sharply higher prices for re-financings than at the Canucks' previous home—the Coliseum at Vancouver's Pacific National Exhibition Place—Richard hockey fan David Marchak, president of the team's booster club, expresses admiration for the new facility. "My season's tickets in the cheap seats in GM Place," says Marchak, a Blaine, "are as good as none of the really expensive ones at the Coliseum." Griffiths, for his part, dismisses criticism that the arena's pricing stacks of classes. "There's a huge market for club seating," he says, adding that premium arenas subsidize some of the arena's high-tech features. "We don't offer them," says Griffiths, "we can afford the \$3-million scoreboard that benefits all the fans."

Such trade-offs are critical to the success not only of the arena but also its corporate parent—Orca Bay Sports and Entertainment. Although Orca Bay's title indebtedness as a closely guarded secret, the company paid a \$770-million fee to the NHA for the Griffites franchise, an addition to the cost of the new arena. Supposing that franchise Griffiths says, will be cash flow from ticket sales, concessions, broadcast rights, underground parking, rentals to concert promoters and the subleased seats that General Motors is paying to have their name exposed every time the arena is mentioned in public.



Griffiths outside the new arena, bonds on owner

to AT&T in 1993 for \$15.5 billion—about its

vesting in an expensive baseball team.

Most of the other members of the Griffiths clan—including Arthur's parents, Frank Sr. and Emily Sr., who held the largest stake in the Canucks' holding company, Northwest Sports Enterprises Ltd., were cool to the idea. They believed that adding a hockey franchise would severely overextend the company's finances. "My mother," Griffiths told Maclean's, "said to me yesterday, 'You were late. I'm not so sure you still are.'"

Griffiths' parents agreed to support a new arena that he believed North-

west's key assets, the hockey club and the

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## Toothless tigers

There should be a clear road to the story after all, it took eight years—and plenty of public cash—to make a small correction site to the three senior executives of bankrupt



### THE BOTTOM LINE

BY DEBORAH MCMURTRY

broker Order Inc. But last week, as the Order chapter finally drew to a close, only one filing was clear: the industry watchdog's back is always more than its bite. And it's high time that we adjust our expectations to that reality and stop howling about regulatory failure every time another move is unveiled.

The act of regulating any industry is inevitably reactive. Because there is no reliable way to anticipate the infinite combinations of circumstance, technology and human cunning, regulators are always scrambling to keep pace with the latest twist. This is especially true in the securities business, which is in a state of perpetual evolution. For example, by the time

jeans to the office—something that Ontario's Tier 1 enforcement is likely to remedy when Walizer's tenure ends in November 2000.

But even when regulators do succeed and pursue violations of the rules, their ability to enforce is often restricted to writ-slaying. Both Seabright Securities and Gordon Capital have been caught with their regulatory capital short of the limits set by the Toronto Stock Exchange. The punishment is a public

rebuke and a fine. Just last month, the top boss in the pony stockbroker, K.A. Manning Ltd., was barred from the OSC sanctioning their client's complaints about high-pressure sales tactics and the failure to adequately disclose investment risks. If Manning's principals are found guilty of violating the Ontario Securities Commission Act, the absolutely worst-case scenario is that the firm's reputation will be shaken.

But when things are sufficiently severe to warrant more than a token reprimand of the regulatory body, they quickly get complicated. As regulators begin to sniff through the rubble of Order in 1997, it soon became apparent that the firm's senior officers had recorded false trades, filed false documents, and deliberately misled regulators and bankers—perpetrating a \$10-million fraud. But fraud is a criminal matter. And that means that the OSC and the attorney general's office had to conduct costly, time-consuming parallel investigations to prosecute their respective cases.

When Order collapsed in 1997, company chairman Len Gaudet lost his broker's license, his customer stretch Narbonne Insurance and his family began to lose the big white pillars on a ramble in west Toronto. Order's creditors lost \$60 million. And, unless the Ontario courts make an example of Gaudet and his cohorts when they are sentenced on Nov. 7, securities regulators will have lost and their credibility to the public.

Even Ed Walizer, the New Democratic Party's gift to the walls of Bay Street, has

ruined relatively few investors during his tenure as chairman of the OSC. The investment industry's complaints about Walizer are largely confined to the fact that he favors wearing sandals and

### TAKING OVER GORDON

Hong Kong broker Richard Li, 35, appeared to be the agent of closing a deal that would give him a 51-per-cent stake in Gordon Capital Corp., the Bay Street brokerage house founded by the bankrupt James Gordon. Li's wife, developer Li Ka-shing, is Gordon's largest shareholder with an estimated 12-per-cent interest. Brokers said Li was negotiating to buy shares from Gordon Black's estate, Canada's Attorney General and the Royal Investment Office. He is expected to reduce the company's capital and focus on corporate finance.

### INSTANT TELLERS

They say there's nothing to do in Toronto will tell you the first Canadian financial institution to allow customers to do this banking on the Internet. Consumers in English Canada will be able to use their home computers to apply for unsecured loans up to a maximum of \$10,000. The company says preliminary loan approvals will take no more than 10 minutes, with funds in the customer's bank account within 48 hours. Bayview Trust chairman Michael Ginzburg said the firm is still working out glitches in the software to ensure customer privacy, but added that the service should be available by Oct. 15.

### LONG-DISTANCE FEELING

Bell Canada has accepted applications from 6,100 employees—or 13 per cent of its staff—who want to take a buyout package under the telephone company's three-year stock-redemption plan. The buyouts are part of a \$1.7-billion restructuring plan. President John McLaughlin said Bell will not say what would happen in 1998.

### BULLISH BONDS

Finance Minister Paul Martin announced the interest rates offered on the 10th 10th Canada Savings Bonds series at 25, 65 and 67.5 per cent for the first three years. The rates are lower than earlier expected, reflecting financial markets' confidence in a recovery in the Quebec referendum.

# Business NOTES

## Labor on the defensive

Ontario's labor laws will be drastically changed under legislation proposed by the province's new Conservative government. Premier Mike Harris's campaign platform included a promise to repeal Bill 40, which made it easier to unionize, banned the use of replacement workers and gave more power to the Ontario Labor Relations Board. The new legislation would roll back most of the changes to workers' rights introduced by the previous New Democratic Party government.

As well as doing away with Bill 40, the new act would require a secret ballot before a union is certified or a strike is called. Private companies that take over services that were previously

run on a non-union basis that allowed agricultural workers to unionize, and to give state the power to cancel contracts held by unionized employees.

Labor Minister Elizabeth Waiser said the 1947 act that allowed agricultural workers to unionize, and to give state the power to cancel contracts held by unionized employees. Labor Minister Elizabeth Waiser said the 1947 act that allowed agricultural workers to unionize, and to give state the power to cancel contracts held by unionized employees. Labor Minister Elizabeth Waiser said the 1947 act that allowed agricultural workers to unionize, and to give state the power to cancel contracts held by unionized employees.



Waiser: taking on unions

## Federal finances

The government in Ottawa is cutting under increasing domestic and international pressure to overhaul its finances. Auditor General Dennis Desautels warned in his latest report that interest costs will continue to grow and the government will have less money for programs unless it moves quickly to set a goal for stabilizing the debt. As of March 31, the federal debt stood at \$596 billion, equal to 73 per cent of the total income generated by the Canadian economy in 1995. In 1973, by contrast, the federal debt totalled \$29 billion, or 33 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP). Desautels did not specify his own preferred ratio of debt to GDP, but he criticized the government for putting too much emphasis on short-term deficit targets without setting long-term goals. The government, wrote Desautels, should commit "to a vision about how much debt it is prepared to carry, and real budgets with that in mind."

In a similar vein, the International Monetary Fund urged Ottawa to pay more at

tribute to the usual deficit, in its latest World Economic Outlook. The IMF said that Canada's economic policies would have more credibility if the government adopted a deficit-reduction strategy more aggressive than its current goal of reducing it to three per cent of GDP in the next fiscal year.

## Trouble at Apple

In a setback for Apple Computer Inc., chief financial officer Joseph Gruninger resigned from the board of directors and said he would leave the company altogether by year's end. Last month, Apple predicted a sharp drop in its sales and profits because of a supply problem, acknowledging that it had made errors in estimating demand for its products. The company was also forced to recall its most sophisticated laptop when two dimensional sensors were found to be flawed. Apple continues to lose ground to its battle with competitors that use Microsoft Corp. software. Gruninger resigned after failing to convince executives that Apple could solve its problems by stepping with another company.



# Can Li Peng help boost the No side?

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**T**his week's meeting of the Canada-China Business Council, taking place in Montreal at a crucial moment in the Quebec referendum campaign, may give the No side an unexpected boost.

The meeting will be attended by a powerhouse of Canadian political and business leaders, including Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and likely every provincial premier except Jacques Parizeau (who was invited but has declined), as well as International Trade Minister Roy MacLachlan and Foreign Affairs Minister Andre Ouellet. Representatives from Canada's business establishment will include Bank of Montreal chairman Matthew Barrett; Nortel CEO Jean-Marc Bombardier; provincial Raymond Beyerle; and Canada Group president Guy Saint-Pierre. Westmont Energy chairman Michael Phillips, and that group's portfolio manager, Mission Strong—among many others.

The meetings with their Chinese counterparts—a 20-member delegation, led by Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng, will discuss many of the deals first discussed at similar meetings in Beijing and Shanghai last year, when 100 Canadian corporate CEOs initiated contracts worth an eventual \$8.6 billion.

As well as trading in the business at hand, the federalist spin doctors will be working overtime to emphasize the point that by voting Yes, Quebec would lose this type of advantageous contact with the world's fastest-growing economy. Senator Jack Austin, who heads the Canada-China Business Council, expects a dozen significant deals will be finalized.

The biggest pending negotiation—for two AREC CANDU 700-megawatt reactors—is not yet complete, but it's close. AREC chairman Robert Nason and Shao Zong Xun, president of the Shanghai power facility where the Canadian reactors are due to be built, will both be speaking at the Montreal meeting. One of the reactor's Premier Li

*The federalist spin doctors will decree that by voting Yes, Quebec would lose direct contact with the world's fastest-growing economy*

Peng is coming over, Austin told me last week. "Is that he's an engineer and has been one of the leading advocates in China of the CANDU agreement with Canada. His personal intervention has made an enormous difference in the priority the Chinese package has received. We're in competition with General Electric from the United States and France's Framatome, which built China's first foreign nuclear reactor, 50 km north of Hong Kong, in 1986. The business could be worth \$4 billion for Canada, and it would put Canadian technology on Asia's energy map."

There could also be a few political firecrackers flying around at the Montreal meeting, because former prime minister Pierre Trudeau will be making one of his rare public appearances. He'll be attending the conference as the recipient (along with former foreign minister Mitchell Sharp) of a medal from the council marking the 25th anniversary of his diplomatic recognition of what was then known as Red China. He will thus be accessible to journalists for the first time since the referendum was called, in 1995. He'll, for former prime minister Brian Mulroney, who is hosting one of the evening

receptions. The big event will be a banquet for 1,000 guests on Friday evening, which will be addressed by Chrétien and Li Peng.

The conference's purpose are coincidental with the Quebec referendum, but its timing couldn't be better. The federalist forces have been searching for some way to illustrate the message that most of the advantages of Quebecers remaining Canadian have little to do with constitutional reform. At the same time, they are pushing the point that even a remaining No vote will only be the preliminary stage in a much larger debate on the country's future.

The second, and definitive, phase will be the 1997 constitutional conference, mandated by the Constitution Act of 1982. That doesn't mean that there will be any deep constitutional overhauls along the lines of the Meech Lake or Charlottetown accords, but there will be a shuffling of protected federal jurisdictions in shared areas, with a decided tilt towards more authority for the provinces. This will be done, not on the basis of Quebec's demands—even though Jacques Parizeau could still be in power, since his term doesn't expire until 1999—but as an expression of the evolving federalism that has always characterized the pendulum of the federal-provincial power struggle.

While that will be a significant initiative, it's becoming obvious to nearly everybody except Quebec's separatist leaders that constitutional reform means very little compared with the changes brought about by the impact of direct political action. The most obvious example without the Canadian Constitution changing one iota, the provincial governments of Alberta and Ontario are turning their citizens' lives upside down. No Constitution would dare trigger the kind of radical social revolutions now under way in Canada, as all governments (except Quebec) finally realize that they're bankrupt, and begin to act like it.

Chrétien, whose private polls point to a 60-percent federalist victory on Oct. 30 in holding his breath. As well as doing his level best to retain Quebec within Canada, he knows that he must action support of those 23 million Canadians who live outside the province. They're watching with the intensity of a dog on a leash, to make damn sure that Quebec isn't offered or granted any special privileges they don't believe in.

The overriding point the No side must make between now and Oct. 30 is that Confederation is no more perfect than any other family grouping—but that it's still worth preserving. The referendum vote will decide whether Quebecers will remain in the family or become strangers. Because no matter how uptight any family becomes about its problems, there's still a huge difference in the way important matters are settled in any crumb, strangers don't get the same of day.

And that's the point that will be nationally driven home, when Chinese statecraft and Canadian businessmen meet in Montreal this week.

An Advertising Supplement to the October 16, 1995 issue of Maclean's Mag

# Canadians FOLLOW THE SUN



Enter the Maclean's Florida Sunshine Vacations and you could win one of nine fabulous Gainesville Holidays aboard Florida's airline — USAir to the Delco Orlando Resort or the Best Western in Sebring Island — details on the last page of this section.

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# DAYTONA BEACH

## DAYTONA BEACH: BIG BEACH, BIG FUN!

The Daytona Beach area is legendary among beach destinations in Florida. Its 37 km of white sand beaches, mild climate and warm hospitality have attracted visitors from Canada for years. Because of its central location, the Daytona Beach area provides easy access to Florida's other attractions, including Walt Disney World, Epcot Center, historic St. Augustine and Kennedy Space Center.

The beach itself has an ocean park atmosphere, and at low tide, it's more than 150 m wide, allowing plenty of room for sunbathing, sandcastle building, and picnics. Flots, umbrellas, bicycles and motorbikes are available for rent right on the beach, and beachfront vendors provide everything from hot dogs to T-shirts from their carts. A gondola skids carries visitors high over the Main Street Pier, providing a bird's-eye view of the famous Boardwalk; below, the Boardwalk Amusement Area features miniature golf, a high-speed thrill ride, arcades and a variety of restaurants. The beach is open and accessible year-round, and the average annual temperature is a pleasant 22°C.

The Daytona Beach area is a virtual water sports paradise. Snorkeling, fishing and jet skiing are all popular sports, both in the Atlantic Ocean and in the nearby Halifax River. While water sports abound, Daytona Beach is most famous for its land sports. The Daytona International Speedway hosts racing of all types, and its Visitors Center is open year-round for truck tours and souvenir shopping. Scheduled to open August 1994 at the Speedway, an \$18-million motorsports attraction called Daytona USA will feature

interactive displays, spectacular race footage and impressive special effects.

Golfers from everywhere are discovering the Daytona Beach area as a world-class golf destination, with nearly 50 challenging courses. The Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) is nationally headquartered in Daytona Beach, and the new LPGA International course is home to the prestigious annual Sprint Championship.

Visitors enjoy the area's newest attraction, the Kluge Auto Museum, which houses a collection of Conestogas from every year since 1953 in sets and scenery which depict the role the automobile has played in American subculture and history.

Cultural activities of all kinds are plentiful in the Daytona Beach area. Internationally recognized music performers play regularly, including such prominent attractions as the London Symphony Orchestra which appears every other year. A local troupe of talented actors produce a variety of theatre shows, and artists show case their works at the area's many art fairs. The Museum of Arts and Sciences offers one of the largest collections of Cuban work in the free world and an extensive collection of African artifacts. The Casements in Ormond Beach, former winter home of American multimillionaire John D. Rockefeller, and the Halifax Historical Museum in downtown Daytona Beach are filled with fascinating history.

The Daytona Beach area features activities to suit every traveler's needs and a wide variety of delicious dining and nightlife opportunities as well. With over 300 hotels and inns — many directly on the ocean — choosing the perfect accommodations is always easy.

Call the Daytona Beach Area Convention and Visitors Bureau at (800) 854-1234.



There are thousands of things for your family to see and do at Daytona Beach. You can golf at some of Florida's most spectacular courses. You can fish in salt or fresh water. You can visit a museum or see a play. Plus, Central Florida's attractions are just a one-hour drive away. After a full day of fun in the sun, you'll find accommodations that range from large, luxury hotels to one of our accredited, family-operated Superior Small Lodging® properties. For a free Daytona Beach Visitors Guide, call 1-800-854-1234.



# GREATER MIAMI AND THE BEACHES

## THE SOPHISTICATED TROPICS

**W**orld events, fashion, film, pop culture, international finance and global television tell us that the times belong to Greater Miami and the Beaches.

Probably no other single community at least in recent years, has set as many trends nor trumped as many timeless traditions. Today's Greater Miami is a dynamic international crossroad of commerce, culture, sports, entertainment, transportation and tourism. This cosmopolitan city boasts some of the world's most beautiful beaches, right next to one of the world's most vibrant urban centers. For those torn between "getting away from it all" and "being part of it all," Greater Miami is today's greatest American compromise.

Greater Miami will entice the visitor long before the visitor can exhaust Greater Miami. But it's worth the effort — especially for people who appreciate diversity.

Greater Miami is cords, fritters, black beans and rice, conchitos and causeries, salsa and congo,

big and mamba. It's a blend of 21st century and Old World architecture, third-paced sports and leisurely strollable, big-city culture and small town neighborhoods.

Visitors can battle a maelstrom with red and reef, explore the historic and "happening" Art Deco District, spot alligators in the Everglades, enjoy the ballet, opera or symphony, wind-surf over the ocean, sip Cuban coffee, skipper a private boat across the bay, savor a plate of stone crabs, dine a coral reef, touch parrots and porcupines, dance and feast through a street festival, or contemplate nature on a serene sailboat.

The spectator sports inventory includes NFL, NBA, major league baseball, professional hockey and arena football action, the Orange Bowl Classic, Jai Alai, horse and dog racing, world class boating. One of the nation's top college football teams, Grand Prix auto racing, and two sports arenas recently awarded for South Florida — golf and tennis. For participants, the outdoor sports season never really ends.

# ORLANDO

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When you are in the warm Florida sun with your vacation family, it doesn't get any better than the Orlando area! In addition to the nearby Atlantic and Gulf Coast beaches, more than 85 lakes await fishing, boating, and swimming enthusiasts, over 100 professionally designed golf courses challenge both serious golfers and weekend warriors, and thrilling water parks will take you on boating, tubing, splash

ing fun in the vibrant sunshine.

For those days when you just want to "get away from it all," discover the other side of Orlando. Beautiful botanical gardens, renowned art galleries, intriguing science and historical museums, and serene lakefront parks provide just the slow, peaceful repose you are looking for.

When you're ready to head back to the hotel, enjoy the view, and relax in long-term condominium rentals, and back to secure campfires, Orlando has accommodations to suit your preference. So plan on spending your next holiday in a destination that provides vacation excitement for all ages — Orlando.

The destination also offers free to Cardholders the Orlando Magicard™, an area-wide discount card offering savings of 10 to 50 per cent at attractions, restaurants, retail companies, retail outlets and more. To receive your Orlando vacation planning packet and the FREE Orlando Magicard™ call 1-800-424-2352.



What a View! A 20-acre water theme park on International Drive offers exciting tubing, swimming and spills and slides for intense outdoor adventure water activities.



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New Smyrna has a 21 km stretch of white, sandy beach also known as "The World's Safest Bathing Beach" because of the rarity of rain-outs. A clean, peaceful setting where sunbathing, swimming, surfing, jet skiing, wind surfing, fishing and shell collecting are the order of the day.

Attractions include: Timbal Rains, Turtle Mound—a 15 m high mound of oyster shells built by the Timucuan Indians, Canaveral National Seashore with 38 km of preserved coastline. Here to enjoy unique species of plants and animals and the nesting grounds of loggerhead sea turtles.

Activities include: backwater fishing in Mosquito Lagoon, a 34 km long and 6 km wide

lagoon containing redfish, black grouper, speckled trout, tarpon, triple tail, snook, spots and Spanish mackerel. Golf enthusiasts have many 18-hole courses to choose from in the area including the new PGA course.

Visitors can choose from a wide variety of oceanfront condominiums, motels and pop motels, bed and breakfast inns or campgrounds/WY parks. New Smyrna Beach has some of the best beach seafood restaurants around. There are also restaurants for lovers of traditional, Italian, Mexican and Chinese fare.

New Smyrna Beach and nearby Edgewater have several shopping plazas and small, quaint shops.

A quiet, safe beach, ideal for families and gay & wags. Closest beach to Disney World. For more information call or write: East Central Florida Tourist Bureau, 112 Canal Street, New Smyrna Beach, Florida 32108. 1-800-541-9621.



## STORY OF FLORIDA

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In 1845 Florida became part of the United States with Andrew Jackson appointed as the first Governor. During the 1880s, when Florida's development was yet embryonic, railroad tycoons Henry Flagler and Henry Plant initiated the first coastal rail systems in the state. The impact of these transportation links are being realized today as tourism is the state's number one industry attracting more than 40 million tourists annually including 2 million Canadians.

The sunshine state, with more than 13,000 km of tidal coastline and a land area of 58,000 square miles has become a magnet for

those seeking relaxation, sun and security.

Some of the most widely known tourist attractions such as Walt Disney World, Universal Studios, Sea World, Cypress Gardens, Manatee and Beach Gardens have become household names throughout Canada.

Between the tourist mecca of the east and west coasts lies a long fertile pocket of inland farmlands that provide as wide a variety of citrus fruits and winter vegetables, not to mention some of the best beef in the world.

Florida is a diverse and exciting vacation destination for Canadians of all ages whether it's a visit to a theme park, a day at the beach, a round of golf, game of tennis or a lay canoe ride down a fresh spring river—Florida has it all.

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# Backpack

The computer is not yet king of the road, but its day will soon come

## DISK DRIVERS

BY WARREN CARAGATA

When the days become colder and the leaves begin to fall, the thoughts of many Canadians turn south, following the grex who are smart enough to get out while they can. Already, hundreds of thousands of people are planning winter escapes from blizzards, snowbound driveways and wind-whipped sidewalks. The difference this year is that computers are beginning to shoulder more than traditional planning tools such as guide books and road atlases. Taking advantage of smarter remote navigation—that of computing power from air to home—software firms and mapping companies are flooding store shelves with a category of consumer software that did not even exist a few years ago. Push aside the bulky road atlases and the maps that can never be refilled properly: turn on the computer and get ready to follow the grex.

Or not. Mapping software, unfortunately, is one of those cases where the technological warranty does not quite live up to the promise. The products work, sometimes very well, but it is still not yet time to throw out the paper maps. Too often, the CD-ROM-based software is slow, awkward to use and lacks the level of detail—

especially in cities and for all the better trucks—that a real roadster might desire. A more obvious problem is that most home computers are desktop machines. Short of purchasing a pricey new laptop, says Alan Fliss, managing director of publishing for the American Automobile Association, most consumers "don't currently have a way to take it with them." But while the electron is not yet king of the road, it may be said that mapping software is in the infancy, improving by the month, not the year. Its day will come soon.

Meanwhile, consumers who want to taste the future can choose one of several products now available in Canada. Their performance is similar. The user enters the beginning and end points of a trip, along with any preferred stopovers; the computer then works out the best route, displaying a map and a list of directions, which can be printed for use on the road. Some products add lists of hotels and popular attractions. Still others supply photos along with site descriptions.

To help people decide if the products are worth the price, *Map'n'Go*'s tested four of the most popular: Microsoft's *Autormap Road Atlas*, *Map'n'Go* (DeLorme Mapping), *Triptaker* (from Road McNealy)

*Navigation with Autormap on a Macintosh. Portable mapping software is getting better by the month*

and *Key Travel Map* (SoftKey) from Road McNealy and *Key Travel Map* (SoftKey) from Road McNealy. They were produced on a 486/33 computer with eight megabytes of RAM, a double-speed CD-ROM drive and Windows 3.0. The software has two theoretical trips, one from Ottawa to Miami and another from Tracy, N.S., to Prince Rupert, B.C. *Autormap* and *Map'n'Go* proved to be the superior products, but the drawn route would be a nightmare between DeLorme's mapping abilities and Microsoft's software skills.

Like many Microsoft products, *Autormap* started life under different guidance but was adopted by Microsoft as a corporate takeover. *Neatline Ltd.*, a British company, was swallowed up in November, 1994. The executive later, Microsoft released a new version, promising a better user interface and faster route calculations. It has generally delivered. Working out the Ottawa-Miami trip took about 30 seconds, a fraction of the time some of the other programs required. And to make things easier, the U.S. software built in information on road, a feature used in several other Microsoft products. The wizard prompts the user for information and automates the process of using the software. In addition to setting the start and stop points, users can specify the route directions they wish to see, how many hours a day they intend to drive, the capacity of their car's fuel tank, average fuel consumption, usual highway speeds, road preferences and whether they prefer the quickest or shortest route.

The computer then spits out the details. Ottawa-Miami will be a trip of 2,660 km, at eight hours a day, the journey will last three days, four hours and 28 minutes. *Autormap* even works out a total cost per province if the user enters an average price. Canadians can set the program in cities or

Destination. *Map'n'Go* add-on that includes course descriptions, airport and hotel addresses are available free in the Microsoft forum on CompuServe or from the company's own Microsoft Network. DeLorme's *Map'n'Go* also has a similar feature. The company's products with its street-level detail. It is possible to zoom in to see the trip from a designated city, but from a specific location—such as Parliament Hill. *Map'n'Go* also comes with a database of hotels and restaurants that can be printed on an map. In fact, in the U.S. market DeLorme with a higher product that may well be standard equipment in most cars a few years from now. *Map'n'Go* allows a user to use a laptop computer to a global positioning satellite receiver, making it possible to find out not only how to get there from here, but to keep track of exactly where here is.

The strength of *Map'n'Go* is its maps, the weakness is the software design. The standard interface is a thing only a mother could love, a standard point-and-click interface, with arrows, buttons and icons. To use to move the map and adjust the zoom level. Thankfully, the panel can be removed, but then controlling the program is more difficult.

The program is also slower than *Autormap*, taking one minute and 40 seconds to calculate the Ottawa-Miami trip and more than five minutes to work through *Trans-Prince Rupert* (30 seconds on *Autormap*). On its first visit at the Canadian coast-to-coast trip, it chose a route through the far north of Quebec, via Chibougamau, instead of the more logical Trans-Canada drive through Montreal. On the second try it chose a longer route that was almost entirely an American highway, only ending Canada near Denver, B.C. The list of travel decisions that the program generates is relatively clear but cannot be customized. Also frustrating is the fact that it only shows the lines of road at a time.

Next best is *Road McNealy's Triptaker*. The company has been producing maps since 1923, but the software has several flaws. Most glaring is that it works best if it is fully installed on the computer's hard drive, eating up an average 15 megabytes of disk space. The program has several American quirks, as well, that cannot be changed. It uses only cities and gallons, and some of the information that it provides for Canadian sites is incomplete or wrong. Among attractions in the nation's capital, it lists the controversial campus of Algonquin College but not Parliament Hill. Overlooking Toronto, *Triptaker* calls Montreal Canada's largest city, adding that "most French Canadians are bilingual and bicultural, blending the refined tastes and joie de vivre of France with the vigor of Canada." The company says a new version, just released, will fix these problems. The new version also includes brief road-side tips and 250 city icons, including ones for Vancouver, Montreal and Toronto.

For *Autormap*, SoftKey's *Key Travel Map* is probably a good product—slower than the others, but with street-level detail, and capable of being customized with addresses and other data. But while SoftKey claims the product is its MAPS edition, Canadians will still find problems galore. The program incorrectly places the Niagara Falls town of Lockport north of Ontario. The program also has a number of other errors, including a spelling correction. Working out a route from Ottawa to Miami is complicated by the fact that the program has difficulty following Ottawa to the first place. No surprise, then, that on the cross-Canada trip, the software decided *Truro* was in Massachusetts. Enough said.

*Autormap* and *Map'n'Go* are both products that mapping software has a future—well that the future is probably not all that far. Soon enough, there may come a time when the computer will be able to take the place of the map and ask for directions. Of course, getting lost was always part of the adventure of the open road. It is an adventure that may be lost to future generations of motorists. ☐

## GUIDE TO THE GUIDES

### **Autormap (Microsoft) \$60**

**Pros:** Fast, flexible and easy to use, capable of being customized.  
**Cons:** Maps lack street-level detail, zooming in can be tricky.

### **Map'n'Go (DeLorme Mapping) \$62**

**Pros:** Excellent maps with good detail.  
**Cons:** Cumbersome operating controls.

### **Triptaker (Road McNealy) \$53**

**Pros:** Operating controls fairly easy to use.  
**Cons:** Requires 15 megabytes of hard-drive space for smooth operation, some information is wrong (company promises new version is faster and better).

### **Key Travel Map (SoftKey) \$35**

**Pros:** Useful for travel within the United States.  
**Cons:** Weak on Canadian geography.

Prices are approximate.

kilometers, gallons or hours. The list of directions is relatively easy to read and can be customized. Like several of its competitors, *Autormap* includes some travel information, such as phone numbers for car rentals and hotel chains, but does not offer a database of individual hotels and motels. It also provides basic provincial and state information, including speed limits and phone numbers for road and tourist information. One drawback is that the program does not always come to the desired end of detail—an attempt is made to zoom in on a highway, for example, can result in a display of part of Wyoming or Hudson Bay. On the plus side, *Autormap* comes with 1,100 color photos of various sights, plus major city hills. Microsoft also sells a



**Autormap from Microsoft, DeLorme's Map'n'Go (top), the computer works out the faster route from starting point to destination**



# Backpack CALENDAR

The month's events range from the Grey Cup in Regina to a wine festival in Moncton

## BRITISH COLUMBIA

Oct. 21, 24, 26, 28, 30: *Maad*, Queen Elizabeth Theatre, Vancouver. The Vancouver Opera Company stages its first production in 30 years of French composer Charles François Gounod's 19th century classic. Tenor Stephen Mark Brown appears in the title role.

Oct. 24: *Caspario L'Internationale*, Vancouver Playhouse. In its Vancouver debut, the Montreal (theater) music group presents *Revue/Le Song Quartet No. 4*, Gounod's *Song Quartet No. 2* and Villa Lobos' *Song Quartet No. 5*.

## ALBERTA

Nov. 3-5: *Beal Festival* of Mountain Film, Banff Centre. Mountain and adventure films from around the world compete for awards in an appropriate setting.

Nov. 4-12: *Caroline Fauriol Kendera*, Edmonton. The local cowboy in the country cowboy in the 12th annual national polo championship. The last and richest Canadian rodeo of the year, with more than \$400,000 in prizes.

## A frightful festival

**H**alloween, that great North American children's festival, had already changed considerably from its origins by the time Irish and Scottish immigrants brought it across the Atlantic. The last day of October was New Year's Eve in the pagan Celtic culture, and a time to be wary of the spirits of the departed. Eventually, New Year's became the Christian feast of All Saints' Day (also known as All Hallow's), the previous night, All Hallow's Eve, evolved into the secular celebration of Halloween. Many of its old customs are preserved in Canada and the United States in the form of children's rituals and games—bobbing for apples, for instance, recalls a Scottish ritual by which young people attempted to determine their future husbands and wives.

## SASKATCHEWAN

Nov. 15-18: *Grey Cup Festival*, Regina. Three days of pop music, entertainment, and dances leading up to the Grey Cup Parade and the nation's professional football championship.

## MANITOBA

Oct. 26-Nov. 18: *Kevin and Da*, Moncton, Manitoba Theatre Centre, Winnipeg. Playwright Joe Martin was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize for his 1983 work about a young woman who is seduced by a prostitute on her way to an abortion clinic. With Kristina Nowell and Patricia Hamilton (all based in *Amateur* based) in the title roles.

## ONTARIO

Oct. 11-21: *International Festival of Authors*, Harbourfront Centre, Toronto. The popular literary festival presents readings, plays, and interviews with major writers from around the world this year including Australia's Thomas Keneally.

One practice that took on new life in the New World was the carving of jack-o'-lanterns; the North American pumpkin being so much more suitable for the job than the old world turnip.

The Halloween festival to most North American adults, with costume-dressed trick-or-treating about the neighborhood, is also evolving. Rita Reiland, executive director of the Manitoba Safety Council, says that parents are increasingly opting for private parties or events like the giant Halloween parade that her organization will hold in the Winnipeg Convention Centre. Modelled after similarly popular parties in

Russia's Yegor Yortashenko and Canada's Barbara Gowdy.

Nov. 9: *Season premiere*, Toronto Seaside Straps, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Toronto. The city's only string chamber orchestra, consisting mostly of retired Toronto Symphony members, performs music by Purcell, Walton and Grieg. Guest soloist is S-Chen Hui, 31-year-old clarinetist with the National Youth Orchestra.

Nov. 29: *The Who's Tommy*, The Elgin Theatre, Toronto. Peter Townshend's rock opera, with Tyley Kinn in the title role, winds up a nine-month run before embarking on a world tour in 1996.

To June 1996: *Timeline*, National Museum of Science and Technology, Ottawa. An exhibition of 21 models, most of them full-size, made from the drawings of Renaissance genius Leonardo da Vinci, including a functioning toilet tank, rockets and a bicycle.

## QUEBEC

Oct. 27-Nov. 7: *The Wilson & Pile Collection*, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. The only Canadian stop for a travelling exhibit

from the 19th and 20th centuries. Including major works by Matisse, Gauguin and Picasso, the collection was assembled by the late founder of the collection and his wife.

Nov. 24: *Les Grands Ballets Canadiens*, Place des Arts, Montreal. An award-winning program of four contemporary ballets: *Dance* Hans van Manen's *Black Code*; *Water* by Ib Andersen of Denmark; *Antonia* Kevin O'Day's *Principles*; and *Desire* Time: French choreographer Erik Kille's past drama for two acts.

## NEW BRUNSWICK

Nov. 6-12: *Aleutian Canada World War Festival*, Moncton. Special lessons and stories from Australia, Ontario, France, Romania, New York and Colorado, as well as a gala dinner and three grand readings with more than 300 guests.

## NOVA SCOTIA

Nov. 10-12: *Wings of the Dove*, Nova Scotia, St. James Church Theatre, Halifax. Neptune Theatre's Studio Series presents Newfoundland writer Ray Guy's comic murder mystery set on the Rock in the early 1950s. Directed by COO's Mary Walsh, the production was written and playwright Mary-Claire Chisholm as the production.

## PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Oct. 22-Dec. 3: *Blacks*, Charlottetown

Black Origins of Newfoundland Outpost Theatre Group, Confederation Centre and Art Gallery, Charlottetown. An exhibition of 37 one-half-hour pieces of artwork featuring dating from the late 18th century to the early 20th, including rock art, ceramics, silver and gold, and style, especially with local motifs.

## NEWFOUNDLAND

Nov. 26-28: *The Angel in the Stone*, Corner Brook Arts and Culture Centre, Theatrical Newfoundland Labrador presents a highly physical, darkly comic meditation on long-term relationships by Leah Sheppard, Martin Ross and Robert Morgan. Two people fall in love, marry and slowly begin to think of reasons for their methods of killing each other.

## NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Oct. 31: *Spoken Words*, Fort Simpson. The weather, generally cold and snowy, dictates an indoor Halloween party for children, organized by the local RCMP detachment. For tonight, the early northern season allows even the youngest to enjoy the festivities.

## YUKON

Oct. 28: *Back Alley Broadway*, Yukon Arts Centre, Whitehorse. Four members of the Moscow-based Bolshoi and Makhi theatre provide a mix of song, music and comedy.



Saddle bronc riding in Alberta: a championship with \$400,000 in prizes

# NEXT

A sampling of upcoming diversions

## MOVIES

**Mighty Aphrodite** Up to his old tricks, Woody Allen plays a misanthrope who learns that the mother of his adopted child is a shocker.

**Now and Then** Demi Moore has a girl's night out with Rose O'Donnell and Melissa Gelfand. **Vanessa in Paradise** Eddie Murphy stars (and in a honor flick by Wes Craven). **Horse for the Holidays** Jeff Foster directs Holly Hunter and Robert Downey Jr. in a family comedy.



## VIDEO

**Once Were Warriors** A devastating portrait of spousal abuse in a Maori family. **Ladybird**, Ladybird Ken Loach's moving drama about a British working-class family. **Rob Roy** The Robt's winning villain escapes Liam Neeson in a highland film. **The Perez Family** Maria Tereza goes Cuban in a misadventure romantic comedy. **Edgewise** A daily chain of edgy sexual encounters by Canadian director Jeremy Potvin.

## BOOKS

**The Justice Kline** The Underworld Life of Patrick Kelly, Michael Harris (McClelland & Stewart). An investigative journalist examines the possibly wrongful conviction

of a Toronto judge for murdering his wife. **The Ghost Road** Pat Barker (Penguin). A current Booker Prize nominee, the novel explores the psychological effects of the First World War on a British soldier recovering from shell shock. **Whose Country Is This Anyway?** Dalton Camp (Douglas & McIntyre). The Conservative strategist and columnist explores increasingly more radical integration of values. **Canada's Blacklist** Frederick's *Blacklist* (Frederick's) and *The North* (Frederick's) Bourgeois, Brenda Clark, illus. (Kids Can Press). Two new adventures in the life of Canada's best-known turbo.

## AUDIO

**Robert's Inside** Joan Armstrong (BMG). A brilliant singer-songwriter's 14th album. **Back to Africa** (Lambertson/Sony). A marriage of European classics with the traditional African music of Gabon. **J.S. Bach Violin Concertos** Jeanne Lamon and Tullius (Sony). The acclaimed Canadian troupe celebrates its 20th anniversary of European music. **Goodbye, Yellow Submarine** A country pop's first new album in 20 years. **2000 New Music** Cowboy Jenkins (Sony). Twenty live performances by the beguiling Canadian band.



Trick or treaters in Toronto: preserving old customs

Alberta, the four-year-old event will feature singers, jugglers and candy for an expected 2,000 children. Shandy is growing anxiety about safety issues to success. "It takes the fear out of Halloween," says Reiland, adding that parental concerns range from violence to food allergies. A scary thought indeed.



Paper: Sutherland  
(right): a difference

## PORTRAIT POWER

Some people just will not let in to the cameras. By August, 1993, Irene Carroll, a Toronto advertising designer, was deeply concerned about the toll that AIDS was taking across Canada. So she and some friends formed the Canadian chapter of the New York City-based charity Photographers & Friends United Against AIDS. Then, ignoring constant advice that their ambitions were set too high, they went about organizing a novel fund-raising project—a book of photographs of 100 plus Canadians who have made significant contributions in their fields. People Who Make a Difference soon took on a life of its own, Carroll says, with 22 photographers and countless other volunteers coming forward to donate their time. Meanwhile, accomplished Canadians from all walks of life, from hockey superstar Wayne Gretzky to singer Celine Dion, agreed to pose. The result is a \$60 coffee-table book—with proceeds going to AIDS research—of sometimes stunning black-and-white portraits. As novelist Margaret Atwood wrote in the foreword: "Many problems can make a monster."

## IN OPERA'S BIG TIME

On Oct. 17, baritone Russell Braun will go where no opera singer has gone before: to centre ice at Maple Leaf Gardens to sing O Canada before the start of a Maple Leaf/San Jose Sharks

Braun: singing of centre ice



## PEOPLE

### AN ATTRACTION TO THE WRITE STUFF

British actress Miranda Richardson says she never got to repeat herself. In *The Crying Game*, for instance, she played a ruthless hit terrorist, while in *Damage* she was the broken-hearted wife of a philandering husband. Still, Richardson, 37, says the parts she chooses to base one thing in common: "I'm attracted to good writing." That criterion was at work when she accepted a role in *Swara*, a feature film based on the 1990 novel by Pulitzer Prize-winning writer Carol Shields of Winnipeg. In the novel, which just finished filming in and around Toronto, Richardson plays a best-selling author trying to exceed the secrets of Mary Swann, an obscure Ontario poet found dead in the wake of her husband's farm. Richardson, who stayed on in Canada for some sightseeing over the filming, was completed, and she enjoyed being introduced to Shields's writing. "This is a terrific learning curve with *Swara*."

Richardson: unraveling secrets



### PLAYING THE PART OF A LIFETIME

It has nearly 70 movie roles, Hollywood legend Charlton Heston has portrayed everyone from Moses and Michelangelo to El Cid and Ben-Hur. But it is his latest role—author of the recently published *he*



the *Arena*—for which he has clearly been preparing for decades. "I had 40 years of daily work journals to draw on," says the 75-year-old star of stage, screen and television about the notes that formed the backbone of his 577-page autobiography.

Heston stresses that, while many celebrity autobiographies that are actually written by ghostwriters, he really did write his own life story. Heston says he had learned to write by reviewing the lives of actors of his movie, characterizing "Any good actor learns how his characters talk," he maintains, "maybe even better than the writer who created the character." The Ten Commandments, how ever, he had to take as written.

Heston, 40 years of actor

game. The Toronto hockey rink is just one of a growing list of interesting places where the 30-year-old singer from nearby Georgetown is popping up. After appearing this month in the Toronto-based Canadian Opera Company's season opener, Richard Strauss's *Arabella* and *Alceste*, Braun will make his debut on Dec. 30 at New York City's Metropolitan Opera, as Dr. Falke in Johann

Strauss's *Die Fledermaus*. Over the next two years Braun is also booked for his first appearances in Paris and Salzburg, Austria, which along with New York make up opera's top triumvirate. Braun seems a little overwhelmed by his mounting success. "Sometimes I think that I'm moving a little too fast."

Edited by BARBARA WICKERTS



Have you ever seen a grown man cry?

# A brush with Cézanne

Once reviled, the French painter is now being fêted in a huge Paris retrospective



Just one painting hangs in the first room of the giant Cézanne retrospective at the Grand Palais in Paris. The life-size work shows a group of men dressed in turn-of-the-century clothing, clustered around a small painting by Paul Cézanne propped on an easel. The nudes in the mid-life are studies of luminous red and yellow-green, groves rising in a white glow but their busts are painted in bold strokes of rich purple. Executed by his contemporary Maurice Denis in 1906, the large painting, titled *Homage to Cézanne*, shows the only admiring audience Cézanne had until his later years of life—other artists. But even the public certainly seems to be giving the painter his due. Every day more the exhibition opened on Sept. 30, a line of people waiting to get into the museum snakes along the sidewalk and fills a neighboring street. By the end of the show's run on Jan. 7, museum officials predict, nearly one million people will have gone through the exhibit of 171 works by Cézanne, borrowed from museums and private collections in 14 countries, including Britain, South America and Japan.

The show, which will also travel to London and Philadelphia, has even inspired what some are calling "Cézanne mania." Newspapers have splashed the event on their front pages, magazines have printed special supplements, souvenirs such as sugar bowls shaped like apples and tea towels in Cézanne colors are selling out, and more than 50 books and three CD-ROMs have been released to coincide

**Still Life with Kettle (1896-1898): Self-Portrait (1877): experiments in color and style**

with the event. "I'm delighted by this outburst of enthusiasm, but it has taken me completely by surprise," says Françoise Cachin, one of two curators of the exhibit. "It shows to what extent the show has filled a need, and that there really is a strong Cézanne following."

Containing around 80 million, it is the largest retrospective ever assembled on the work of Cézanne, the artist dubbed "the father of us all" by Picasso. Organizers inherited six years to bring together sketches, pastel drawings and paintings, including his famous still lifes of ripe fruit, portraits of family and friends in bold strokes of color, and vivid landscapes that capture the rich greens, browns and blues of the Provence countryside where he was born.

The breadth of the collected works also seems to chart the painter's development over time. Some of the works, including two versions of *The Great Bathers*, are on display side-by-side for the first time since 1957, when a Cézanne exhibit was mounted in Paris a year after the artist's death. There are also several versions of *The Seine at Ville-Marie* painted from Louveciennes, a view that obsessed Cézanne

"During the last 50 years we've only been able to see his work in a fragmented way," says Cachin. "Only parts of Cézanne's work were shown, those which represented the artistic sensibility of the moment. What we want to do here is show the evolution of an artist."

The curator thinks Cézanne is still misunderstood because of his complexity. Cachin says some viewers could be let down by the retrospective, the first since 1936. "It's true he is part of the golden legend of impressionism," she says "but to see him only in that way, visitors will be disappointed. He's not just an impressionist."

The exhibit is the last in a series of large retrospectives of impressionist artists, including Monet and Edgar Degas, mounted by the Grand Palais. Organizers say they know the Cézanne show would be a success, but they had no idea it would attract visitors on the scale that it has. A week after its opening, an average of 5,500 people a day flocked to the exhibition. "Anything connected with impressionism is extremely popular at the moment," says the director of communications for France's association of national museums, Jean-Michel Perle. "That wasn't the surprise to us, it was that Cézanne is more difficult to understand than painters like Degas or [Henri] Toulouse-Lautrec. His work is more complex and intellectual."

In fact, people who expect to find only the pleasant still lifes and landscapes for which Cézanne is famous may be startled by some of the canvases. A large part of the exhibit focuses on his early period, when themes of violence and dark colors predominate, clearly shown in works such as *The Murder* (1889) or *The Skull and the Crucified* (1890). Because of those early paintings, the commercial art world of the time ostracized Cézanne. Shunned by critics, barred from exhibiting in major art salons, Cézanne found himself isolated even further by his fits of temper.

**Apples and Bunches (c.1890): luscious palette**



**Houses in Provence (1879-1882): capturing the rich hues of the land**

his solitary, moody nature and his sharp tongue.

Some art historians agree that he came into the world a bitter man, born out of wedlock to 24-year-old Anne Aubert in Aix-en-Provence. She later married Paul's father, Louis-Auguste Cézanne, a wealthy banker who presented his son to study law. Instead, the young artist moved to Paris with his friend, the writer Émile Zola, to study art, but that Cézanne's difficult character alienated Zola, who labelled him a "bitter genius." Cézanne had few friends beyond his circle of colleagues, which included the impressionist painters Camille Pissarro, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Albert Degas. Cézanne's palette of colors gradually brightened as he began to set up his easel around, painting landscapes, or inside, painting colorful still lifes, as he delved in the impressionist style. But while critics applauded such painters as Renoir and Monet, they singled out Cézanne as the most eccentric of the impressionist style. They said his tables were wobbly, his fruit flat, his perspectives distorted and his studies misbegotten and lifeless.

Art critics today acknowledge that Cézanne helped lay down the cornerstones of 20th-century art. The rounded bowl shapes of his canvases that resound throughout his career influenced studies in works by Matisse and Picasso, and by experimenting with perspective, form in portraits and landscapes, he helped form the basis of cubism and abstraction.

Artists of the time understood his importance and respect for him to constantly reinvent himself. He eventually earned a reputation as a "loner's painter." Snubbed by critics and ostracized by the public, his work was scorned up by art circles such as Monet, Paul Gauguin and Pissarro. "Cézanne's style is so complex and diverse," wrote Maurice Denis in 1953. "That everyone finds within his work the echo of his own system." Cézanne finally achieved critical success when his first exhibition in 1895, at the age of 56, despite the positive reviews, the artist remained mistrustful and reclusive. It was only a year after his death in 1906 that the public warmed to Cézanne's work, when a retrospective attracted thousands.

Museums who have the dazzling lineage at this year's retrospective could find Cézanne's work challenging. But their presence in half a century to a modern curiosity about a figure who was once ignored and reviled. And like the man depicted in Degas's painting, viewers are in a sense paying their own homage to Cézanne.

MIAMI TOMPKINS in Paris

# Maclean's

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### OCTOBER'S LINE-UP:

• Oct. 10, 9 - 9 p.m. EDT

Roger Savard, author of *Swindlers, What Canadians and Americans Should Not Do* — Know About Each Other... • e Wink, Punchy and Personal Link

• Oct. 17, 9 - 9 p.m. EDT

Anthony Wilson-Smith, Maclean's Ottawa Editor will field questions on the Referendum

• Oct. 23, 9 - 9 p.m. EDT and Oct. 24, 9 - 10 p.m. EDT

Canada's Ambassador Chris Hadfield will talk about his upcoming space trip and the link-up with Russia's space station

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## BOOKS

# Voices of the gods

A novel explores the power of ancient deities

### THE DOUBLE TONGUE

By William Golding  
(Foghorn, 360 pages, \$29.95)

When the British Nobel laureate William Golding died in 1993, he left among his papers the draft of a short novel set in an ancient Greece. Recently published as *The Double Tongue*, the tale is inspired by the questions about confusion that attracted Golding's creative career, ever since he burst onto the literary scene in 1954 with his remarkable first novel, *Lord of the Flies*. That book focused on a group of English schoolboys stranded on a desert island, where they soon shed their veneer of gentility and revert to their savage natures. *The Double Tongue* is also, in its way, about savagery—the chaotic and uncontrollable savagery of an ancient Greek god, Apollo.

The novel explores the ways in which cultures depend on the powerful and irrational energies such gods represent—as well as the ultimate futility of trying to control them. Hence, wise and wisely original, *The Double Tongue*—even in its unfinished state—is one of Golding's finest achievements.

The novel takes the form of a reminiscence by an old woman, Arletha. For 68 years, she has been a prophetess at Delphi, the famous religious site northwest of Athens. Known as the sacerdos in the centre of the earth, Delphi, with its spectacular mountain setting, was believed to be haunted by Apollo, god of the sun and patron of truth and music. He spoke prophesies—always in riddles, “double-tongued” language—through the mouth of prophetesses such as Arletha, and was widely consulted on matters both great and trivial.

In Arletha's time—roughly the first century BC—Delphi has fallen into decline. The god on age of Athens and Greece is several hundred years in the past, and the Mediterranean world is now ruled by the militaristic Romans

As a 15-year-old girl, Arletha is recruited from her parents' home by localites, the high priest of Delphi, to become one of Apollo's prophetesses. A sophisticated, cynical Athenian, localites plans to use Arletha to help her restore Delphi's (and Greece's) greatness. Arletha does not believe in the god himself, and he is disappointed to learn that Arletha does. Much of *The Double Tongue* is devoted to the conflict between these two, as the worldly priest tries to control the supposed girl who insists on being true to the presences she experiences in Apollo's sacred grove.

The novel never explains exactly what those presences are, but by recounting Arletha's story from the young woman's point of view, Golding accomplishes the almost impossible task of showing what an experience of the gods might be like as a culture that actively believes in them. To Arletha, the gods are far more than the literary metaphors for eternal human assumptions that they represent for moderns. The first time she enters the dark sanctum of

Apollo's shrine, Arletha is shocked by mysterious forces. She hears demonic laughter and energies stirred, bleeding and exhausted.

The contemporary psychological explanation for her experience would be that Arletha has been gripped by a kind of hysteria. But this is only to give a scientific name to a fundamentally inexplicable process, at best, it explains nothing. A god, Golding demonstrates, is a violent, uncontrollable presence that can erupt from the depths of the human psyche. Having no unmediated relationship with one of these forces those New Agers who tentatively smoke the Glympis gods (right: tobacco ritual is about as safe as sucking one's head in a pig engine). *The Double Tongue* suggests that the ability of the sacerdos to connect with such energies was part of their great power—a form of power the current technology and age sorely miss.

who insists on being true to the presences she experiences in Apollo's sacred grove.

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Golding: a shockingly original view



He said...

HE: Now here's an interesting little tidbit of information

SHE: I believe "tidbit" is the operative word in this case.

HE: Apparently...

SHE: Yes...

HE: —the first thing people wash when taking a shower is their tummy

SHE: You've got way too much time on your hands, Don.

HE: Here's something on strange relationships

SHE: Like this one?

Don Daynard: Ben Davis: News, weather, traffic updates and Toronto's Perfect Mask. Ma: The CHFI morning show, another reason why CHFI is Toronto's Radio Station

**CHFI FM98**

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JOHN BENDROSE





# Noon with a View

## Chronicle

With Arlene Bynon and Dick Smyth.

News, Views, and Opinions  
12 O'CLOCK WEEKDAYS

# Radio

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### BOOKS

## Hurricane horrors

A writer takes gleeful jabs at Florida's lowlife

**STORMY WEATHER**

By Carl Hiaasen  
(Novel, 332 pages, \$32)

Crime novelist and Miami Herald columnist Carl Hiaasen once told an interviewer that there was nothing wrong with south Florida that a force five hurricane couldn't cure. Stormy Weather, Hiaasen's sixth book, appears to be his literary version of such a storm. By opening the novel with Hurricane Andrew ravaging the state, Hiaasen runs the risk that everything that follows is anticlimactic. Instead, he keeps the momentum going with a story that is not so much a thriller as a wild, wisecracking romp through the wreckage that remains after Andrew's destructive passage. With a keen sense of dialogue and detail, Hiaasen brings to life a world of substandard homes reduced to kindling, uprooted trees and the flashing lights of emergency vehicles, a world where the daytime world of chaos soon gives way to the crackle of gunfire at night. Meanwhile, driftnet fishing boats, negligent property owners, con artists and cracked building inspectors roam like scavenging animals across the landscape.

Fans that swoon at linkers dreams arrive early: Max and Debra Landis who, at Max's residence, have out-thirt their Disney World honeymoon to witness Andrew's power in real time. Max needs opportunity a junior New York City advertising executive, he hopes to express his criticisms and suggestions with videotape of the destruction. His participation, though, is nothing compared with that of many of the book's other characters—who will, eventually, alter the course of Max and Debra's life. Among them a savings man known as Skipper because of his determined jaw and Eddie Mamb, a young woman sleeping her way, if not exactly to the top, then at least to an insurance scam payout.

At the centre of it all, seemingly controlling everyone's fate, is Clinton Tyrus, or Skink, a former governor of Florida. Hiaasen has pulled fan at politicians before: his previous bestseller, *Serp* Tense, featured a corrupt Florida congressman on the verge of suicide, whose kindly obsessions with a lawless dinner threatened his political career. Skink is also damaged, but perhaps he is an almost irresistible figure: crime writer David because of his history. Now, he sports a flowered sweater, eats road kill and runs the backwoods with a mission: to avenge what corrupt politicians, land developers and polluting businesses have done to his beloved state. Throughout his career, Hiaasen, a native of Florida, has railed against environmental

degradation and political corruption in his home state. In fact, one senses a release of sorts in the almost musical gleam with which he reflects grassroots suffering upon unnamed real estate agents and other lowlives

populating the suburbs in Stormy Weather. It is all, of course, wildly improbable; that, then again, is Florida—a place of bagged-up swamps, killer bats, hurricanes and rampant crime that somehow remains the tourist mecca of North America. And as anyone who has ever sat in a south Florida bar—with a frosty margarita, the whetters and blowing in through open windows—can attest to, there comes a point when one believes that anything and everything can happen. It certainly does in Stormy Weather.

PETER KOPPELHOF



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# When Mike Harris read Charles Dickens

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There was a time when you had to serve in apprenticeship for politics. John Diefenbaker was drafted six times for public office before finally making it to Ottawa, serving 36 years as an MP while winning 23 straight elections.

William Lyon Mackenzie King went into exile in the United States, welcome for the Rockefeller, while plotting his return to the path that put him in the prime minister's chair. Sir John A. was a professional politician. Lament, too.

John Turner was greeted by his mother from birth to become prime minister. Ruth Joe Clark and Brian Mulroney, at age 17, aimed for the 24 Sussex Drive slot they eventually reached.

These days, these times, they're different. Voters vote into office politicians who are not well behind the ears they drink out of the flagstone bowls at the inauguration banquet.

When Dave Barrett brought in the first NDP government in British Columbia, he had to turn his cabinet from a number of suspects who had just fallen off the back of the turnip truck. One of his ministers had to be sacked after being detected doing some horizontal delight with his spouse in his car, 300 yards from view at the premier's mansion, just steps away from the motel room where he lived. Regarded, ignorant.

Two others were demoted by the dignified staff of the stately Empress Hotel as having reneged a bedtime story to their room where they were lying on their Spino, washed down by the fumes of beer they had drunk in. Another steady type beat with a steady tattoo on the headboard of his bed with his spouse on a nightstand that the Social Credit lady next door had to move to a more exalted locale.

When Bob Rae stumbled into office as Queen's Park with his surprised NDP crew, it was considered a work time, cabinet ministers regularly moved right from the premier's office to the O.C. Briefing.

Into this great tradition steps Premier



Mike Harris, a shuffling figure who prepared for high office by being a gold pro and a ski instructor. The new boss of Canada's largest province has invented a unique approach to cabinet-building, picking rough-hewn types never edited by opposition or, in some cases, bookshelves. It's been a hilarious experience.

The new Transport minister, a car dealer named Al Palladini, at first thought he could make a buck by selling cars to his own government. The new Education minister, one John Sobelen, is a high school dropout who prepared for politics by running a garbage-collecting outfit.

He has announced that students are "customers" and their parents are "clients" and to get some action he first planned to "invest a couple" in education—use that apparently did not involve him reading a book or two.

The social services minister, one David Tobochnik, is an amateur poet who writes

about shouting people, and suggested to welfare recipients that "the weather is better in British Columbia." He has also helpfully suggested to the poor that they should look for rented ties of torn and, when they find a sale, buy a lot of it. How the poor, who are poor because they have no money, would get the money to be able to buy on bulk was, unfortunately, not explained.

The new solicitor general, one Bob Runciman, has found the solution to crime. He is closing 25 halfway houses and will trace the badboys by electronic bracelets. Big brother apparently drifting in some Queen's Park office tracing their movements on a map. He also has prisoners picking up litter in highway ditches, just one step removed from the wonderful Alabama experience of reintroducing chain gangs, shuffling convicts mounded at the sides.

This is all good stuff.

The general shift of politics to the right, following Newt the Nuts to the North, shows Mike Harris in on the right path. The majority of Ontario voters who supported him, as opposed to the majority of Ontario voters who opposed him, want more of this and more.

Mike obviously has been reading a lot of Dickens. He missed Bob Cratchit, but Scrooge caught his eye. Mr. Gargery, of course, grabbed public attention with his helpful idea that his country reintroduce orphanages to take care of all those fatherless youngsters born to unwell black mothers.

Premier Mike, targeting welfare toms as the main reason for the problems with the Toronto Stock Exchange Index, is shuffling welfare toms so he can follow through on his promise of a 30-per-cent income tax break for the middle class. This is forward thinking, reminiscent of Herbert Hoover's pinger of a chicken on every pig.

Those with three-car garages in the suburbs outside Toronto have Sobelen with his lectures in teachers' Tachos with his advice on married toms and Runciman with his thoughts on picking up discarded bear cars.

The public use of the toms appear of the shuffling pack, the premier who has struggled from the six slope and the 18th hole in to the premier's chair, lifting the role actor played by Mitch Hepburn and Lucille Ford and John Roberts and Lili Hania.

Not a single one of them thought about putting children back in the mines. They simply weren't imaginative enough. This in 1985 and the Newt of the North is going to prove them wrong.

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